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Chronicle

Peace Conference.—The action of France in invading the Ruhr territory has introduced disagreement into the counsels of the Allied Powers. On April 5, the day

The Ruhr Incident

before the French troops occupied Frankfort and other towns in the Ruhr Basin, the Government at Paris issued a note in which it was declared that France had no hostile designs towards Germany, that the German Government had yielded to pressure by the militarist party "not fearing to infringe the important and most solemn stipulations of the Versailles Treaty," and that there would have been neither a Kapp revolution nor a Red movement in the Ruhr district if Germany had carried out the disarmament clauses of the treaty. The motive of the French action is explained as follows:

The situation created by the abrupt offensive of the German troops in the Ruhr obliges the French Government today to consider military measures the execution of which cannot be deferred. The sole object of these measures is to bring Germany to a due respect of the treaty; they are exclusively of a coercive and precautionary character.

The Committee of Ambassadors met at Paris on April 7, and during the meeting Premier Millerand laid before them both Germany's note and his own reply. In defense of the action which France had taken the Premier reviewed the events which led up to the operations of German troops in the Ruhr Basin, and declared that these operations, taken without the formal authorization of the Allies, were a *casus belli*. The French Government had informed the Allies of this violation of the Versailles Treaty in the hope that they would see the necessity of reprisals as France saw it and would give effective help in execution of military measures which from that moment could not be deferred:

The French Government has therefore acted in the general interest of all the Allies, at the same time in the particular interest of France. It was necessary that she should take, in conformity with the Versailles Treaty, indispensable measures for her own security. It is not necessary to recall that the French Government intends to evacuate the occupied towns as soon as the German troops shall have completely evacuated the neutral zone. The American, British, Italian and Japanese Ambassadors listened to Premier Millerand's statement, but abstained from comment.

Belgium hastened to endorse the action of France, and on April 8 at a council of Ministers, acting under the presidency of the King, it was decided to inform the

French Government that Belgium was ready to send a detachment of troops to assist in the occupation of the Ruhr district. The motives assigned were the wish to give a token of friendship for France and to preserve the solidarity of the Allies.

Great Britain's action was not so favorable. A cabinet meeting was held at London on April 8, after which a statement was issued, in which it was said that, although France no doubt had acted in good faith, the responsibility for her action could not be shared by the Allies:

The German Government appears to have acted precipitately, and France to have responded by adopting a plan which was only intended as a last resort method, and even then to have been the affair of the Allies and not of any one of them simply.

If, and when, France's suspicions of Germany's ulterior motives and deliberate flaunting of the terms of the Peace Treaty become accomplished facts, the Allies would doubtless be prepared to act instantly and vigorously in concert to vindicate the position and respect for the provisions of the treaty. But for the time being it may be taken that no British soldier will participate in the occupation of German cities in the neutral zone.

This statement was supplemented by a note sent from Great Britain to France, in which it was demanded that France promise not to act except in agreement with the Allies. To this the French Government replied by renewed insistence on the necessity which justified her action, and by declaring that the French Government "taking into consideration these conditions, declares itself disposed to assure itself before acting of the assent of the Allies in all inter-Allied questions which bear upon the execution of the treaty."

On April 10 Japan notified the Foreign Office in Paris, through its Ambassador, that the Japanese Government approves of France's action. Italy is understood to take England's view of the matter, but has made no official declaration. The United States, according to a statement made by Ambassador Jusserand, is preparing a statement, in which, although approval is not given to France's action, an opportunity is presented to that country to prove its case.

The German Government, on April 8, followed up its note of April 6 by an appeal to the League of Nations to take up the matter, and presented a formal accusation against France of having violated the covenant. Germany bases her protest on Article XI, which reads:

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any

of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary General shall, on request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

Since, however, Germany is not a member of the League, it cannot force action. Moreover M. Bourgois, chairman of the Executive Council of the League, in a meeting held on April 9, ruled that such appeals should be made to the Governments of the Powers composing the League, any of which might, if so disposed, formally bring the matter before the Council.

Home News.—The House of Representatives, on April 9, passed the joint resolution declaring peace with Germany and repealing the war-time legislation, by a vote of 242 to 150. The vote was cast largely on party lines, two Republicans voting in the negative and twenty-two Democrats voting in favor of the resolution. Senator Lodge has announced that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate will report on it favorably, and it is generally agreed that it will pass the Senate. Before the final vote was taken the Democrats offered a substitute which provided for the repeal of the war-time legislation, but left untouched the question of declaring a state of peace. This resolution was defeated, by a vote of 222 to 171, by the House sitting as a Committee of the Whole. The debate, which was limited to twelve hours, was characterized by attacks on the President, the Senate and the Peace Treaty.

The Democrats who opposed the passage of the measure took the stand that the resolution was a selfish maneuver on the part of the Republicans to force the President's hand and to put themselves on record before the country as having made every endeavor to effect peace; that its passage would put the United States in a disadvantageous position economically as regards trade with Germany, should that country refuse to accept it; that it would put Germany in the position of an equal of the United States and not of a vanquished foe and that it would render it necessary to declare war anew in order to dictate terms; that it was useless, since the President was certain to veto it and its supporters lacked the necessary votes to pass it over his veto; and that it was unconstitutional, since it usurped a prerogative not residing in Congress, namely, the power to declare peace.

The Republicans and their Democratic supporters pleaded sincerity in their endeavor to give peace to the country, and declared that it was idle to plead technicalities in the face of the fact that the deadlock between the President and the Senate made it the only practical way of ending the state of war and paving the way for the resumption of normal conditions which were indispensable for prosperity; that the patriotic thing to do was to work for the interests of the country rather than to defeat those interests with a view to safeguarding the

reputation of the President; that the resolution was constitutional; and that there was no danger of Germany refusing to accept its terms. They also predicted that they would be able to muster the two-thirds majority required to pass it over the President's veto.

On April 9 the Senate adopted an amendment offered by Senator Frelinghuysen to the Army Reorganization bill. The amendment, which was passed by a vote of forty-nine to nine, substitutes for the provision of universal training the proposal that the Government should undertake the military training during four months in any year of all those men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight who should volunteer for such training.

The railroad strike, which started in a single switching district some days ago in Chicago and has rapidly spread to twenty-five railroads in various portions of the country and to other transportation systems, and which threatens to assume very large proportions, is very difficult to understand.

The Railroad Strike Mr. Gompers insists that it is not a strike at all, because the men are acting individually; the heads of the Brotherhoods describe it as an outlaw movement, made without authorization, illegal and designed to destroy the existing organizations; the men themselves are apparently to a large extent ignorant of the cause of the walk-out, but are seemingly tired of waiting for the existing organizations to redress their wrongs and have taken matters into their own hands; the Senate has ordered an inquiry; the Department of Justice is collecting data on which to base Federal action should conspiracy be proved; and the officers of the railroads declare that no formal complaints or claims have been made by the strikers, and are at a loss to account for the situation. The most plausible of the explanations of the movement offered so far is that the strike is a revolution within the regular organizations, and an attempt at the formation of an all-inclusive union which will supersede the "Big Four." The strikers say that they do not plan to make war on the Brotherhoods unless the latter make it necessary; but the heads of the Brotherhoods have urged the Government to offer no mediation in the matter, and have even gone so far as to suggest that they will provide strike-breakers from their loyal members.

Germany.—The marching of German troops into the Ruhr district, which was explained by Germany as a necessary step taken to quell the Red rebellion, has led to the occupation by the French of Frankfort, Hanau, Darmstadt and other cities in the neutral zone. At Frankfort the situation was aggravated by the presence of Senegalese troops in the army of occupation. The African soldiers turned their machine guns upon the crowd, killing a man and a child, and wounding a number of women and men, some of them seriously. Germany's

German Protest Against Occupation

point of view is made clear in her remonstrance sent to the French Government on April 6. After stating that the French occupation of the Rhine towns had taken place before the French note referring to this matter was presented to the German Government, the German document continues:

We must, in the name of justice, reason and humanity, make the sharpest protest against the action of the French army. It cannot possibly have been the intention of the Treaty of Versailles to prevent Germany from restoring order as quickly as possible in the part of its territory most seriously disturbed by bands of robbers.

The movement in the Ruhr region, if it had not been quickly opposed, would have shaken the republic to its foundations, both politically and economically. The German Government would have acted inexcusably if it had waited longer in the optimistic hope that the insurgent movement in the Ruhr district would end without military intervention, and events so far have shown that it was right.

Everywhere that the troops arrived the movement quickly collapsed, and the fears expressed by the Allies that the very entry of the troops would make the disturbances worse and lead to the destruction of most important industrial works has up to the present not proved justified.

The idea that the dispatch of troops to the region could in any way involve a menace to France is so absurd that it does not require to be refuted, and it may therefore be maintained with the fullest conviction on Germany's part that there is here no intentional violation of the Peace Treaty which could make the German Government responsible in the meaning of the Peace Treaty. Even if such a violation had been committed the military act of violence now committed by the French Government would not be justified.

The note states further that alleged violations of the treaty must, under the terms of this document, be redressed by all the signatories, and not by any single one acting independently. It also holds that the present action is in sharp contradiction of the Allies' note of December 8. A proclamation addressed by the German Government to the inhabitants of the towns occupied by the French troops says:

Less than 14,000 troops have been collected in the Ruhr district, or almost the exact number permitted by the agreement with the Entente. France has regarded it as reconcilable with the state of peace to occupy flourishing German towns as a reprisal. The world's peace has never been more monstrously played with than it has been just now by France.

While order is being restored in the Ruhr region after the confusion and lawlessness which had there reigned unchecked, a new Communist uprising is said to have taken place at Plauen. Other disturbances of a local nature are also reported from Bitterfeld and Magdeburg, where Soviet republics, it is rumored, have been proclaimed.

Ireland.—Ireland still remains in a state of siege, thronged with British soldiers, who apparently enjoy the game of running down prominent people, who are shipped to England and put into cells. The Irish papers are full of accounts of outrages of various kinds; now it is an account of the arrest of 500 people, again of 200, and

so on. An idea of the nature of the raids on private houses may be had from this protest of Major Erskine Childers, an English Protestant war-hero, at present living in Dublin:

I received the honor of a visit last night from a tank belonging to your command at the somewhat inconvenient hour of 1 a. m. I do not demur at this. War is war.

But I suggest that it might be in the interest both of the visitors and the visited on these occasions if a code of etiquette or deportment were imposed upon the former.

It would, perhaps, be unreasonable to complain of bayonets being flashed in the eyes of my small boy in his cot, and of similar means of impressing the household generally with a proper awe of the forces under your command.

But it is a matter of legitimate complaint that a young subaltern should, on entering the house, stroll into my drawing room in my presence puffing a cigarette, and should continue to refresh himself in this manner after I had invited him to desist.

The trifling scene which ensued was ended by another officer, who decreed an ingenious compromise under which the cigarette was to be thrown unextinguished on the carpet.

"Upon the carpet" was the express injunction delivered with studied insolence.

Thus, I was to win my point about the consumption of the cigarette and he was to save his dignity, by burning a hole in my carpet.

The point may seem trivial, but is it so? When armies are eventually withdrawn from occupied territory—and may I without the least offense, express the hope that yours will be eventually withdrawn from ours?—it is of the most vital importance to the future relations of the nations concerned that an army should leave behind it a record for civility and humanity in the performance even of the most obnoxious duties.

Surely none can be more obnoxious and more easily provocative of exasperation than these midnight raids upon civilians' houses, about 19,000 of which have taken place, I understand, in the last two years, often, as in my case, on false information, and often resulting in indignities and hardships infinitely worse than anything I experienced.

So far Major Childers has not received an answer from the commandant of the British General Headquarters, Dublin, to whom the protest was addressed.

A dispatch from Dublin on April 11 stated that 104 Sinn Fein prisoners in Mountjoy jail had been on a hunger strike for a week. Some were sent to the hospital, but most were lying in their cells, too ill to move. The object of the strike is to secure the rights of political prisoners for men who have been in jail for weeks without any formal charges being made against them. Thomas Clark, chairman of the Justices of the Peace who were allowed to visit the prisoners, wired the Lord Lieutenant, begging him to save the lives of the Sinn Feiners by granting them political treatment. The answer was:

There is no power under the rules made in November to extend political treatment to convicted prisoners who are excluded from ameliorations. Untried prisoners are treated under the rules made for untried prisoners. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant does not propose to modify the rules in the direction you suggest. All prisoners on hunger strike have been forewarned as to the consequences of perseverance in their conduct, in accordance with the decision of his Majesty's Government.

Only when a prisoner's condition is reported to be serious are his relatives admitted to see him.

State of
Siege

Rome.—The *Osservatore Romano* proves conclusively that the visits which were reported by the radical press both in France and in Italy to have been made to the

**Caillaux at the
Vatican**

Vatican by ex-Minister Caillaux, now indicted for treason before the French Senate sitting as High Court to judge the charge, never took place and are a pure invention. A persistent effort has been made on the part of the enemies of the Holy See to prove that Caillaux had extended to the Vatican the pacifist propaganda of which he is now accused, and thus to compromise the Pope himself and several of the highest dignitaries of his immediate suite. The *Osservatore* reviews the whole series of events from which the calumny took its rise. The facts are as follows:

In 1916-1917 several Paris correspondents of influential Italian journals spoke of conversations held on the one side between either Caillaux himself or a trusted agent, Madame Renouard, and on the other the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, and several Roman prelates. At the time these accusations were made, the *Osservatore Romano* gave them the most formal denial, but was unable to find out the source of the calumny. Finally the French Government published the "secret" dispatches of the French Embassy at Rome, and thus the source was found from which the correspondents derived their information.

There were three dispatches. The first came from Admiral Saint-Pair. It stated that the information given in it came from absolutely reliable sources and was, moreover, confirmed by the Ambassadors of England and Russia, by Baron Sonnino and Signor Salandra, as well as by the Rumanian Minister, Prince Ghika. The dispatch added that, in spite of the denial of Baron Sonnino, it was certain that Caillaux had seen neither the Pope nor Cardinal Gasparri, but that Madame Caillaux had seen the latter prelate several times. The dispatch went on to say that M. Caillaux had seen at the Vatican several of the "most pacifist" prelates, among them Mgr. Misciattelli, Mgr. Nigone and especially Mgr. Pacelli, who was described in the dispatch a pronounced pacifist.

After the publication of this dispatch an effort was made to verify the facts there asserted. Baron Sonnino, Signor Salandra and the English Ambassador, when questioned on the matter, the latter officially by his own Government, answered that they might have spoken of the alleged visits with the French Ambassador, M. Barrère, but that they had never confirmed them on their own personal authority.

In spite of this, says the *Osservatore*, from the Paris dispatches on the Caillaux trial, it is learned that M. Lescouvé recently read before the High Court "a note of the Hon. Baron Sonnino, written to the French Embassy, under the date of December 21, 1916, in which the Baron speaks of the relations which Caillaux is supposed to have entertained with the Vatican." It is to this note undoubtedly that the dispatch quoted

above refers, in which it is asserted that Signor Sonnino had stated that Caillaux had seen both the Pope and his Secretary of State. Signor Sonnino then, adds the *Osservatore*, was not stating the truth, when on December 21, 1916, he asserted that Caillaux had visited the Holy Father and Cardinal Gasparri, and he was making liberal use of a mental restriction, when, questioned on the subject, he answered that he had never personally confirmed such rumors.

The Russian Ambassador and the Rumanian Minister kept conveniently silent, and it was impossible to have them officially requested by their Governments to furnish the information they had. But we now learn from the Paris dispatches, continues the *Osservatore*, that Prince Ghika was informed by his brother of the pretended visits of Caillaux to the Vatican. But the prince's brother merely "deduced" the fact of such visits from remarks made to him in conversation by Mgr. Pacelli. But Mgr. Pacelli renewed the formal denial already given by him, and asserted that never at any time did he state a fact that never existed, and never expressed in any way in any conversation whatever the opinions on the Caillaux visits which were attributed to him.

From all this, concludes the *Osservatore*, it results that Prince Ghika, the brother of the Rumanian Minister, who is always received at the Vatican with the courtesy due to his high social position, did have some conversation with Mgr. Pacelli; that from such conversation he thought he might conclude that Caillaux had visited the Vatican; that the Rumanian Minister had notified the French Embassy of the visits, not as a fact but as a conclusion from the train of reasoning of his brother. Slender and unstable foundation on which to rear the structure of a gross slander against the Holy Father.

In closing its summary of the baseless charges brought against the Pope, the *Osservatore Romano* renders homage to the honor and sincerity of the French Ambassador in Rome, M. Barrère. Summoned before the High Court now trying Caillaux for treason, and asked on the witness stand whether he thought that Caillaux had really visited the Vatican, M. Barrère answered with a decided negative, thus brushing away with one word the whole web of calumny. So, says the *Osservatore*, after the imprudent and thoughtless conduct of the French Embassy in publishing the three dispatches referred to above, this negative answer of M. Barrère is a confession that the charges contained in these dispatches are absolutely without foundation. Such an acknowledgment, adds the Roman journal, is a brave act, and does the greatest honor to M. Barrère. We need not then wonder, it concludes, that the French Attorney-General officially declared before the High Court that the pretended visits of Caillaux to the Vatican would no longer play any part whatever in the charges brought against the ex-Minister. The official declarations of M. Barrère and the French Attorney-General thus solemnly clear both the Holy Father and Cardinal Gasparri from a gross slander.

The School and Freedom

JOHN C. REVILLE, S. J.

STARTLING as are the political, social and educational theories in vogue today, it may be doubted whether they can be compared to some of the principles advocated by Rousseau in his "*Contrat Social*" and his "*Emile*," by the Encyclopedists and their immediate followers. Both works of Rousseau, the "*Emile*" especially, are a bundle of contradictions. Like his age, they are individualistic in the extreme, yet ultimately lead to the rankest Socialism. Like the Revolution, so they proclaim liberty, yet close in slavery and despotism, the absolutism in politics, government and education of Napoleon, the Revolution's most astounding child. Rousseau is the inventor of those high-sounding words the popular will, the sovereign people. He is the inventor of the Social Contract, that unproved and unprovable theory of a social order due solely to the free and mutually expressed conventions and contracts of men, and therefore revocable at will, and not due to man's nature, nor logically arising from it. Individualistic in his "*Emile*" where he leaves his pupil to himself and to the family, he tells us in the "*Contrat*" (Bk. I., Chap. VIII) that the State cannot wrong its subjects, and that the sovereign power always does what is right. For him the State is impeccable, it can do no wrong, and in the same book he calls the State the basis and foundation of all our rights. The logical conclusion of the work is the omnipotence of the State, source of all civil, political and religious duties and rights, hence of the teaching power and office.

Rousseau's ideas profoundly influenced the men of the French Revolution. He is an idol still, hollow and unsubstantial, in many an educational shrine. He is the champion of a purely national and secular education and the leader of those who made that a weapon for the overthrow of religion and morality. Yet in the beginning of the Revolution, the theory was not so easily reduced to practice. It was even vigorously opposed by Mirabeau who saw in it a tool for the service of the reigning powers, by Talleyrand who openly upheld the right of the individual to teach, provided he complied with the general laws of order and morality, by the unbeliever Condorcet who objected to it in the name of the family, by Sieyès and Daunou, members of the Committee on Public Instruction appointed by the Convention: these men warned the Convention that it must not violate a right guaranteed to all Frenchmen, nor ignore the sacred privileges of the family and the home. Unfortunately these wise counsels were unheeded and the Revolution, by its first decrees at least, not only sanctioned by its acts the words of Danton that the child belongs to the Republic before belonging to the parent, but made of France, for a few short but sterile years, another Sparta

and of its citizens, helots. Yet the native good sense of Frenchmen asserted itself and in the Constitution of 1795, they formally recognized in article 300 that the citizen has inherent rights in the matter of education which the State could not take away.

But false principles like evil passions are the most relentless of masters. They drive straight to their goal. The Napoleonic despotism, child of the Revolution, saw what a powerful instrument would be held in its hands if every teacher in France were bound to its triumphal car. Master of the press and the police, framer of a code as marvelous in its way as the imperial strategy at Austerlitz or Jena, sole lord of a million bayonets and suzerain of half a dozen kings, dictator of the arts and sciences, Napoleon tagged the universities of France, its theological seminaries and colleges from Finistère to the Cantal and the Ardèche, with his imperial eagles and bees, and put their teachers, priests and laymen into his imperial livery. The Napoleonic laws of 1808 made education in its university and secondary branches nothing but a cog or a wheel in the administrative machine devised by a master but despotic mind. Cursed with the sterility which seems to be the fate of all completely State-controlled education, the machine ground out pedants, bureaucrats, office-holders of mediocre talents, but its roll of truly great men either in art or science or literature is unimpressive and is soon called.

Although under the Bourbon Restoration the Charter accomplished little for liberty of education, the laws of June, 1833, organized primary instruction so as to afford some freedom in private instruction but the State control of its secondary and higher institutions was to remain in vigor until the Falloux law of 1850. An interesting study might be made of the splendid fight made by the French Catholics under men like Dupanloup, Combalot, Ravignan, Montalembert, Lacordaire, Falloux, for the overthrow of that system which enslaved their children and deprived their countrymen of the right of bringing them up according to their views and not after the whims of an autocratic State. That gallant fight antedated by more than twenty years, the campaign organized by the Catholics of Germany against the similar bondage of the Kulturkampf. While the Falloux law took the primary schools out of the dangerous realm of politics, provided for the primary instruction of girls, its great benefit was that it admitted the equality of the religious, free-school, the "*école congréganiste*" and forced the State to recognize in it a legitimate rival. It was not all that Catholics wanted, but it gave them a substantial victory. Clipped and shorn of some of the generous provisions it had made for the freedom of education, the law of 1850 remained in vigor though impaired until 1880. Then Jules Ferry inaugurated a bitter campaign of nagging, persecu-

tion, tyranny, meant to reduce Catholic schools and education to helplessness, to take God and religion gradually out of the schoolroom and ultimately to blot them out completely. For the past forty years the history of the Catholic Church in France has been the history of a long and nobly sustained fight on the part of the French Episcopate, clergy and people for the freedom of the school, for the right to teach their children according to their beliefs as free men and not as the tools of the State. Against the laws of 1881, of 1882, of 1886, of 1901, of 1904, of 1911, 1912 and of the following years, the Gambetta anti-clerical campaigns, the Ferry laws, the Paul Bert laws, the Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes persecution, the projects, decrees, laws and statutes of Steeg, Brard, Briand, Buisson Guist'hau and as many others, the separation of Church and State, the expulsion of religious, all tending to oust God and His ministers from home, State and school, and to hand the child over to an atheistic or Deistic master, to de-Catholicize and de-Christianize him, the French Catholics have made a gallant fight.

Catholics in America, who may be soon called upon to wage the same fight for the freedom of education may profit by the noble example of men like the Comte de Mun, of Freppel and Turinaz and Guibert, Perraud and Chesnelong, Baudrillart and many others, who nobly stood in the breach and saved for France and for civilization, at least one bastion of their most solid rampart, the free school for free men. Freedom of education in all its stages, especially where religion is concerned, wrote Mr. Etienne Lamy a few years ago in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, is not a right only. "Alone in France," he adds, "it perpetuates a doctrine, which through its religious beliefs, supplies a solid foundation for morality. It fulfils for all the most important of public duties. Against that anarchy which threatens to overwhelm us, and which the State itself encourages, it alone remains the rampart, and the last." Americans who love liberty, their children and their family should ponder these words. A monopoly of education is one of the most galling tyrannies which the State can exercise.

Peace in Need of Repairs*

J. C. WALSH

Sometime Correspondent for "America" at the Paris Conference

IN the early weeks of February, 1918, I was one of those who believed that the signs of the times pointed to such an armistice, and peace to follow, as came nine months later. At the time I wrote a memorandum on the subject for a New York editor, which he found to be rather daringly unorthodox. It represented that the time was best for Germany, because she still held strongly on the West and was master in the East; that it was best for France, because everything pointed to a return of Alsace-Lorraine, probably the most she could hope to gain no matter how long the war lasted; that it was best for England, because she already held all the prizes in Africa and Asia Minor, because Germany had been all but eliminated as a mercantile competitor and been definitely dislodged from the Pacific, and because Germany had dragged down Russia, until very recently an object of apprehensive solicitude by those responsible for the security of India; that it was best for Italy, because she had secured a prescriptive right to Avlona, which was all she was likely to get out of the war except some slight improvement upon the terms Austria had been willing to allow to keep her out of the war in the first place. There was the further deduction that in the state to which Russia had been reduced, the Germans could expect to find there, both in the military sense of increased security and in the material sense of most

favorable commercial opportunity, some recompense for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. Just about that time an associate of Mr. Lloyd George made a speech in which he let it be known that the Government was actually making up its mind to a great decision, and the speaker pleaded that prayers for the guidance of the Prime Minister would be more fitting than fault-finding.

However, the decision was against peace, and not until October did the possibility again arise. When the President's first advances were made in that month, I recall, in a company of twenty I was alone in believing that peace was at hand. The most important difference to be seen between February and October was that the German armies were being withdrawn rapidly from French territory. It seemed to me probable that when they had got out of France, and when the English had got back to Mons, the war could finish, as it did. There will always be controversy about what might have happened next in military affairs. There are those who claim that a shattering blow was ready to be struck by the Allies in Lorraine, but on the other hand General Maurice and other capable observers are agreed that the advancing armies had so far outrun their dependable communications as to be in a situation of real danger, less serious than that of von Kluck in September of 1914, but of the same sort. Whatever the prospects were for further war-making, the general position was the same as in February for England, decidedly better for France, and apparently somewhat better for Italy, because obviously worse for Austria.

On the ship going over, in December, a couple of days

* "The Economic Consequences of the Peace." By John Maynard Keynes, C.B. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe; "What Wilson did in Paris." By Ray Stannard Baker. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.; "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference." By Dr. Edward J. Dillon. New York: Harper & Bros.

before we reached Liverpool, I fell into a talk with a distinguished member of the American delegation, and in discussing the probability of Mr. Wilson's ability to obtain European approval of the ideals enunciated in his "Fourteen Points," I gave him an outline of the position as it had presented itself to me in February, and as it still seemed to exist in December. He was a strong supporter of Mr. Wilson's idealism, confessed his ignorance of the significance of Avlona, very much as Mr. Lloyd George afterwards did in the case of Teschen, and we went off to bed on his remark "You say you are going to Paris? Do you really expect to get there?" Afterwards I was witness to his disillusionment. When, at Brindisi, whence he was about to sail for Syria to inquire into the dispositions of the people there, he read the first draft of the League Covenant, he took the first train for Paris and then the first boat for New York. That was in February, 1919.

Now, when one has as definite an idea as I had of what the essentials of peace were to be, and as strong a conviction as I entertained that the realities of power were already visible in February, 1918, one does not readily part with the belief that there is a certain unreality, or at least a lack of permanence, about factors which seem to stand in the way of the achievement of the results that might be expected to follow from the existence of conditions so obvious. At least it can be claimed now that the conditions in the Eastern hemisphere tend continuously to assume the elements of definition which seemed to be visible in February, 1918, before the American armies had been thrown into the melee.

France has had her lost Provinces restored, but France has not been allowed to make the Rhine the boundary clear down to the Holland border. Italy has Avlona, but Dalmatia is not to be hers. She has acquired a strategic boundary on the Tyrol, but in gaining it has set up an irridentist aspiration in the breast of one of the hardest, bravest and most patient peoples in the world. Belgium has been liberated indeed, but once that was accomplished her delegates to the Peace Conference were treated as obnoxious hangers-on. In less than a year we have passed through a cycle which began with English clamor for the Kaiser's head and ended with the affirmation by the head of the counter-revolution that it had England's approval; began with the demand that Germany must pay the whole of what the war cost her enemies and ends with cordial acceptance of Mr. Keynes' reasoned plea that the treaty stipulations on this head must be abandoned in the interest of England's commerce and the world's well-being; began with Mr. Wilson's visit to Buckingham Palace and ended with the letter of Viscount Grey.

Under cover of the discussions about the Kaiser's head, the reparations, the Rhine bridgeheads and the League of Nations, which engaged the attention of the multitude, the real business of re-apportioning the land spaces of the world and the other spoils of war has steadily proceeded, still steadily proceeds. What England seemed to

have acquired in February, 1918, has now almost wholly passed to her under various forms of title. She wanted the German colonies and the Southern Pacific islands outright, and has been content to take them under what is called a "mandate." Her title to Egypt takes the form of a "protectorate," rightly defined by the statement of a London paper that the Egyptians must be taught "We are here as masters, not as servants." Her title to Arabia is in the form of an "independent" kingdom, brought into existence by her agents and maintained by her money. Her title to Persia is denominated an "alliance" with a venal sovereign, an alliance growing out of the elimination of Russia by German arms, an alliance which places Persian finance, trade, transportation and natural resources as completely at England's command as those of India, and reduces Persia to as low a rank as Egypt. Her title to Syria, including Palestine, Damascus and Mesopotamia, is being registered at this time of writing in the coronation as King, of Emin Feisal who was admitted to the plenary assemblies of the Peace Conference while on England's monthly payroll, and who by his present action, taken at the moment when France was rushing fresh armies to the Rhine in fear of a return of the Hohenzollerns, is ousting France from territories in the Levant in which her will has been law since the days of Louis XIV, of Francis I, even of the Crusades. Her title to the oil fields of the Caucasus and the Caspian is derived through little Georgian republics, to those of Rumania through private bargainings that held up the delimitation of boundaries in the Balkans. She has made with Turkey, without consulting her Allies, as once before in 1879, agreements designed to placate her Mussulman population in India, and is elaborating as best she can a regime on the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles which will be amenable to her will, taking full advantage of the present helplessness of her two ancient and unrelenting rivals, in that quarter, Austria and Russia.

She has seen Hamburg cleared of German shipping, Germany's dreadnoughts scuttled in Scapa Flow. She has obtained a relatively increased preponderance in sea power, and by her mere veto averts even the discussion of the rights of other nations in the freedom of the seas. She has utilized the League of Nations as an instrument of her statecraft and has taken possession of it as a department of her administration. Her balance sheet, now almost ready for certification by the international auditors, contains in the statement of assets all the properties listed as hers as early as February, 1918. And having arrived at that position, she is ready to contemplate the re-opening of business on pre-war specifications, and therefore is prepared to re-open the question of the payments to be exacted from Germany which can be shown now, when people will listen, as they were shown by Herr Brockdorf-Rantzau, a year ago, when it was not permissible to listen, to constitute an effective barrier to the resumption of profitable trade not only in Germany but in all Europe, east of the Rhine. Mr. Balfour was

profoundly right when he said, in March, 1919, that to make peace with Germany was a very simple matter. It was so simple, in the light of what he and those who took instructions from him succeeded in obtaining, that we can quite see what a nuisance it was to have a Persian delegation or an Egyptian delegation or a Chinese delegation or a Russian delegation moping about in Paris importuning for hearings they were never accorded, to the great scandal of Dr. Dillon.

For their advice was not needed. The decisions had already been taken regarding the matters in which they were interested and concerning which they mistakenly believed they ought to be consulted. The inexorable logic of fact, of fact established, as M. Clemenceau so neatly phrased it, by the logic of twenty million victorious soldiers, was against them, as it was also against Mr. Wilson who was, when all is said, the only friend any of them had, but who was unable to make good his friendship against the combination of those whose plans had been perfected already in February, 1918, and brought to perfect fruition in November of the same year. France's desire for a free hand in Morocco, for the coal treasures of the Saar, and for the emasculation of Germany, Italy's desire for the mastery of the Adriatic and for a jumping-off place from which one day to leap into a blood bath of Roman imperialism, Japan's cold adherence to her Asiatic policy and to her bargain in North-Pacific Islands; Belgium's necessity for restoration and her willingness to be pacified with a slice of East Africa, Greece's determination to have restored to her the dominions of the Byzantine Emperors who were driven out by the Osmanli, England's tenacious adherence to long-laid plans for consolidating an African empire and joining it by a land-nexus with India, combined to constitute an alliance based upon mutual advantage that was too strong to be overborne, in any crisis, by the new idealism with which Mr. Wilson hoped, when he sailed for Paris, to dominate the Conference.

Even the chaos in Russia contributed to the strength of the alliance, for France had to give hostages to the others in order to get from them the assurance of a new Eastern counterpoise against Germany, in a Poland strong enough to bear the strain and live.

Making peace was indeed a simple, even if a vexatious, affair. The books that are now coming out are so many recitals of the vexations. Mr. Baker, who saw Mr. Wilson oftener than anyone else did, reveals what the President's trials were and ends by marveling that he saved anything out of the shipwreck of his hopes. Dr. Dillon's book is a recital of the anxieties, even the agonies, of the lesser peoples, beginning with Italy, Belgium and Russia and ending with Egypt, Persia and China. Mr. Keynes, the awaited hour having struck, concentrates upon the miseries to which it was agreed to subject the Germans. But he looks forward, rather than back. If he places the bulk of blame upon the much-burdened shoulders of President Wilson, whose defect, it seems,

was to be cursed with a theological mind rather than blessed with a political or an intellectual mind, it is only because he feels that now, with all the major positions consolidated on the Allied side, it is safe, nay, essential to reconstitute Germany, to the end that the newly established imperial systems may be preserved and perpetuated by the flow of those beneficent currents that are set going by prosperous trade. Bankrupts, he feels, even bankrupt empires, cannot remain insolvent and thrive. And just as he blames Mr. Wilson's theological mind for the year's expensive delay, so he artfully proposes that the United States, by a single act of generosity, involving a gift of some ten thousand million dollars and interest, shall repair the injuries caused to the world both by the war and by the peace. Just why, and how, will warrant separate telling.

The Great Infamy

P. W. BROWNE

NEVER before have we read such a withering indictment of truculent diplomacy as the American press utters these days in protesting against the great infamy which France and England seem determined to perpetuate, by their decision to permit the Turk to retain Constantinople. The *New York Evening Post* says:

Because some Englishmen were afraid of irritating their Moslem subjects in India, because some Frenchmen fear British ascendancy in Constantinople, because Greece, eager for Constantinople, would rather keep the Turk as a place-warmer in the city than anybody else as a ruler, because of all these tragically familiar motives, the "Sick Man" has been granted another extension, he is to go on living and poisoning the atmosphere of international life.

Even rabid Anglo-maniacs like the *Toronto (Canada) Globe* are not in sympathy with this latest evidence of political chicanery.

It will be difficult to convince Christendom that the decision to retain the Sublime Porte in Constantinople rests on anything but calculations of self-interest. Mr. Lloyd George ingeniously tries to put the Supreme Council's action on the ground of principle and give it a moral gloss by affirming that the expulsion of the Turk would be a breach of faith with the Mohammedans of India who fought for the British Empire. The argument is advanced very late in the day.

These "diplomatic reasons" are by no means new. England saved the Turk at the cost of the Crimean War; she saved him after the Russo-Turkish War; and now, after Armageddon she would save him again! Evidently the doughty Welshman who *rules* the British Empire has forgotten his hatred of the Turk whom he called only a short while ago a human cancer.

The Turk has no place in Europe, and his sojourn there has been a constant menace to civilization; and as the *New York Globe* says:

Steeped in iniquity, gross, dirty, corrupt, parasitic, the Turkish rulers have been for decades a monument to the failure of European statesmanship. It will be a fatal cowardice that allows the Sultan to retain real power west of the Straits.

The blighting influence of the Turk upon civilization derives necessarily from the tenets of Islam at whose shrine the "unspeakable" worships. Its fundamental article is "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." Believers in this cult vision as their reward in the hereafter a sensual paradise, for the attainment of which the sword is the most effective agency. Islam has no code but that which decrees death to the infidel, including the Christian; fetichism is its chief power; Mecca its holy city. The Koran which Carlyle calls "the confused ferment of a rude untutored soul . . . a wearisome jumble with endless iterations" is the supreme law of religion, law, and philosophy. It sometimes crawls in the dust and sometimes is lost in the clouds leading its disciples to glory in the infamies which have for centuries characterized the followers of the prophet. Islam spread rapidly throughout Arabia during the lifetime of Mohammed its founder, and after his death fanaticism and the sword were the instruments by which his successors, the caliphs, fired the sons of the desert with the battle cry: "Before you is paradise; behind you, death and hell."

The weakness of the Byzantine Empire, the wrangling of pseudo-Christians and the idle metaphysical disputes of the rival factions greatly aided the fanatical propaganda of the caliphs. Within a brief period they had subdued Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Northern Africa, and Southern Spain whence they crossed the Pyrenees, threatening to stable their horses in St. Peter's, at Rome. Europe for the nonce was saved from destruction by Charles Martel who defeated the Turk at the Battle of Poitiers, in 732, drove him out of the Rhone Valley in 739, and forced him back beyond the Aude.

In the ninth century, the Turk overran Persia, Afghanistan, and a large part of India, where, at the present hour, Britain rules many millions of unwilling subjects—followers of the prophet—by its policy of *divide et impera*. The Arabs came under the blighting domination of the Turk in the eleventh century. From Arabia the Moslem hordes crossed the Bosphorus, captured Constantinople, and overthrew the Byzantine Empire (1453). The noble basilica of St. Sophia was transformed into a mosque, and Christianity became a byword. Under Selim II, in the following century, Southern Europe was again menaced; and it was saved only by a miraculous victory by Don John of Austria in a naval engagement off Lepanto (October 7, 1571). But the Turk was not yet defeated. From Constantinople he threatened anew the destruction of European civilization, and brought fire and sword to the gates of Vienna; but he met disaster at the hands of Sobieski (1683). Though broken, the power of the Turk was not destroyed; and after centuries of conflict, the pirate of the Bosphorus is still scheming anew and continues to thwart the purpose of his enemies and pursue his career of murder and rapine. Constantinople seems destined to remain a plague spot, and the world will be lucky if it does not again become

the hotbed in which the seeds of another war are sprouted.

The British and the French government leaders are not directing their efforts against the Turk, but in his behalf. The cynicism with which they flout the demands of Christianity and civilization, in order to gain commercial and territorial advantages truly deserves the reprobation of the world. Their attitude cannot but be regarded as a betrayal of the nations that in the late war defended liberty and the cause of humanity. Their militaristic and imperialistic ambitions are by no means dead.

An indictment of this policy was made not long since by a keen observer of international affairs—Lord Bryce. He says:

Many of those who well know the East tell us that to recoil before shadowy terrors of this nature [the fear of Moslem anger] would do far more harm to European, and in particular to British, prestige in the East than a firm exertion of the rights which the victory of the Allies has given them to accomplish, and which the interests of justice and peace require. It would be culpable weakness to show favors to a government guilty of the gigantic crimes the Turks have perpetrated.

The Turk has ruined every country in which he has gained a foothold. He has no place in Europe, and his stay there has been a menace to civilization. Under his despotic rule Christians have no rights; they are merely tolerated. They may fight one another to any extent; but they dare not convert a Moslem under penalty of death. After the Crimean War (1854) the death penalty for apostasy from Islam was nominally abolished; but fanaticism is today as rampant as ever. The fearful massacres in Damascus (1860), in Bulgaria (1860), in Alexandria (1882), are sufficient proof; but should further demonstration be needed we find it in the gruesome story of the massacres in Armenia, the fairest portion of the Turkish Empire. The history of Armenia is tragic; and its pages are sullied by records of pillage and rapine. This country which once occupied the major part of the great table-land extending from the highlands of Asia Minor to the borders of the Caspian Sea is now but an historical conception. It has been parceled out among the Russians, the Persians and the Turk who now dominates the vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Mammultul-Aziz, and Diarbekr. For nigh half a century, Armenian atrocities have been the subject of "consideration" by the European Powers; and "sympathetic" organizations have poured forth "remonstrances" for decades; yet the horrible carnage goes on. The years 1894 and 1895 witnessed horrors that are indescribable; they ceased temporarily when representatives of the great European Powers, backed by their assembled warships, wrested from the Sultan promises of reparation and reform. But the Turk has not failed to massacre the Armenians; for fanaticism will have its sway.

The underlying cause of the horrors in Armenia is the undying hatred which the Turk bears towards Christianity, for Armenia is one of the oldest Christian foundations in the world. There is a well-established tradi-

tion that several of the Apostles preached the Gospel in Armenia, and that some of them, such as St. Bartholomew and St. Thaddeus, died there. The head of the Armenian Church claims to be occupying "the throne of St. Thaddeus." Although legendary, this tradition witnesses that at a very early date Christianity passed from Syria into Armenia. The great Apostle of the country was St. Gregory the Illuminator; and around him centers the story of the development of the Church in the first centuries. We have at present writing only approximate statistics regarding the status of the Catholic Church in Armenia. Recent figures give to Catholicism some 70,000, to Protestantism, about 50,000, whilst the remainder of the population, possibly 2,000,000, belong to the Gregorian or non-Uniat Church of Constantinople.

What is the outlook at the moment? Dark clouds are lowering upon the horizon, and the Eastern Question is a very serious one. European diplomacy still permits the Sultan to occupy Constantinople on the bridge of two continents, insulting civilization with his semi-barbarous institutions and blighting the world by his baneful influence. The world stands aghast at the truculent attitude of the so-called Christian Powers, England and

France, whose aims would perpetuate the great infamy which insults the moral sense of the civilized world. There should be no compromise between the European nations and the perpetrator of unspeakable crimes against humanity. This were to condone the iniquities of centuries. The Turk will continue to massacre, and the dangers of the old rivalries at the Straits and in Constantinople will remain, and when Russia regains its unity and strength, as it must ultimately, it will resume its old pathways.

Russia, under an Allied secret treaty, had been promised possession of Constantinople with an automatic control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. This arrangement would have admitted the Russians to equal power on the Western seas, a right long denied them through the fear on the part of Great Britain that rivalry from Russia would put the latter into virtual control along the Suez Canal with its constant peril to Britain's vast Eastern domain, especially India.

The world today is awaiting anxiously the outcome of the President's note which has caused heart burnings in the councils of the nations with whom we most desire to be associated in the tasks of peace.

The Church and Economics

JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

"WE should decline to concede the right of the Pope to pronounce on matters that did not enter into the substance of faith; . . . and our historical experience of the Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, does not encourage us to take the view that it holds the final key of social and economic salvation. Its own special mission is the creation of the moral and spiritual conditions of worthy and adequate social change; and its pronouncements for or against any particular theory of economic order are neither here nor there."

"We are willing to accept the pronouncements of the Bishops when they tell us our duty in matters of religion, but we do not recognize their authority to instruct us in matters of business and industry, as they have attempted to do in the 'Program of Social Reconstruction.'"

These two statements agree in rejecting the doctrine that the Church has a right to lay down principles, issue instructions, make laws, concerning economic relations or industrial systems. Yet the first was written by a Protestant clergyman while the second was uttered by a Catholic business man. To an intelligent Catholic the error in the first paragraph is easily detected, easily explained, and easily refuted. It is an echo of the Protestant doctrine that salvation comes by faith alone, that the Church is not primarily concerned with a comprehensive system of moral principles, and therefore that the Church has no authority to define the morality of men's industrial actions. The second statement avoids the

error concerning salvation without works, but limits the province of the Church as a moral teacher, by excluding her from a very important area of that province. The measure of agreement between the two statements is extremely significant, even though it is caused by different viewpoints and different motives.

Against the theory enunciated by this Protestant clergyman and this Catholic business man, let us cite the words of Pope Leo XIII. At the beginning of that part of the encyclical, "On the Condition of Labor," in which he discusses remedies for the economic ills of society, the great Pontiff declares:

We approach the subject with confidence, and *in the exercise of rights which manifestly appertain to us*; for no practical solution of this question will be found apart from the intervention of religion and of the Church.

How far the position of Pope Leo is from the position of our Protestant clergyman and our Catholic business man, can be seen from the particular matters with which he deals in this encyclical. Among them are: the duties of the employer; the duties of the employee; the limitations of ownership; labor unions; employers' associations; diffusion of ownership among the masses; strikes; leisure for the workers; the length of the working day; woman and child labor; a living wage; rapacious usury; and the intervention of the State in industry.

Some ten years later, Pope Leo reaffirmed the general principle of the Church's concern in economic matters in his encyclical on "Christian Democracy":

It is the opinion of some, and the error is already very common, that the social question is merely an economic one, whereas in point of fact, it is first of all a moral and religious matter, and for that reason its settlement is to be sought mainly in the moral law and the pronouncements of religion.

The declarations of Pope Leo XIII on this subject have been reaffirmed by both his successors, and have recently been emphasized in the pastoral letter of the Hierarchy of the United States.

This statement of the authoritative Catholic teaching should be sufficient to show our Catholic business man that he is utterly mistaken in his assumption that the Church and the Bishops "have nothing to do with business matters." If he is a loyal Catholic he will admit that the Popes are better judges than he concerning the authority of the Church over industrial subjects and arrangements. Nevertheless, it will be helpful to recall and recount briefly the reasons why economic matters and the mutual relations of economic classes come within the field of Catholic teaching. This will be particularly pertinent to the criticisms which have been directed by some Catholic business men against the Bishops' "Program of Social Reconstruction."

The mission of the Church is to teach and help men to save their souls, to make men fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. They save their souls not alone by faith (the Protestant notion) but by works, by conduct. They must not only believe correctly but live righteously. Now righteous living takes in the whole field of human action. It is not confined to those of man's actions which affect merely himself and his God, nor to those which relate to his family. It concerns those actions which have an economic character, such as, theft, fraud, extortion, slothful performance of labor, oppression of the laborer, violence against property, etc., etc. In a word, all free human actions, whether without or within the field of industry, come under the control of the moral law; and the teaching and application of the moral law is the business of the Church. The notion that business actions and business relations are somehow an exempt territory, free from regulation by the moral law, neither morally good nor morally bad, is a heritage partly from the Protestant Reformation, partly from the false liberalism of the early English economists, and partly from the commercialized ethical code which came into practice owing to the failure of the State or any other powerful social authority to apply and enforce the principles of justice in the province of industry. It never has been and never can be the Catholic doctrine.

Having reasserted the Catholic doctrine and reasoning about the authority of the Church over industrial and business relations, let us see whether there is anything at all that can be said for the viewpoint expressed by our Catholic business man. To answer this question it will be helpful to distinguish between *principles* and *methods*.

The Pope and the Bishops have authority to lay down

the moral *principles* which govern industrial relations. Under this head come Pope Leo's declarations concerning the right of labor to a living wage, the duty of labor to perform a fair day's work, the duty of employers to refrain from overburdening their employees, the right of the State to intervene in the affairs of industry whenever there exist no other means of remedying great abuses, and a host of other specific pronouncements. All these are merely applications of general moral principles to particular economic conditions.

It is conceivable that the Pope and the Bishops should go further, and pronounce judgment upon particular *methods* by which the particular moral principles may be or might be made operative. For example, Pope Leo XIII passed judgment upon and against Socialism as a method of effectuating the principles of justice in the industrial order. Incidentally, one is tempted to observe that the condemnation of Socialism, whether by Pope, Bishop, or priest, is never complained of by Catholic business men as an improper interference in matters of business. However, let that pass. The Pope might declare that a minimum wage law would or would not be a morally lawful method of making effective the doctrine of a living wage. As a matter of fact, no Pope has made any declaration on this subject, but such a declaration would be an entirely proper exercise of the Pope's authority to apply the general principles of morality to particular industrial situations.

There is a further step which may be taken by the authorities of the Church in their dealing with the moral problems of industry. It consists in not merely pronouncing certain concrete methods morally lawful, but in advocating the adoption of such methods. Pope Leo's great encyclical, "On the Condition of Labor," contains a good number of such specific recommendations; for example concerning the multiplication of property owners by the State, the means by which the State should prevent strikes, the various kinds of associations that ought to be formed by workers and employers, etc., etc. In their "Program of Social Reconstruction" the Bishops who constituted the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council, advocated many specific measures, such as the legal minimum wage, labor participation in management, and so on.

These, then, are the three principal ways in which the authorities of the Church may properly make pronouncements concerning business and industrial relations by applying the general principles of morality to particular economic practices; by passing judgment upon the morality of particular methods or measures of reform; and by advocating and urging the adoption of certain methods and measures. All the great encyclicals and other declarations of the Popes on the social question exemplify all three of these forms of "intervention."

Obviously the last of the three forms will not have as much official authority as the first two, since it involves

questions of practical expediency as well as the question of moral principle. Nevertheless, it is quite natural and eminently desirable that the authorities of the Church should on opportune occasions urge the adoption of particular methods of reform which they know to be morally right and which they believe to be actually expedient. It is quite unnatural and not at all desirable that they should maintain a specious attitude of "neutrality."

A final word concerning the Bishops' "Program of Social Reconstruction." Like the encyclicals of the Popes, it exemplifies the three kinds of pronouncements: application of moral principles to industrial practices; judgments concerning the morality of certain reform methods; and the recommendation of certain methods and measures. The declarations under the first two heads are merely a restatement of the traditional teaching of the Church, while the particular reform measures advocated are either explicitly or implicitly authorized by the same teaching, particularly as found in the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII.

Religion and the Coming Campaign

JOHN B. KENNEDY

THIS is not a political tale, although politics must receive, perhaps, more than due place in it. It is a story that points a moral to which too much attention cannot be drawn during this important year. James J. McGraw of Ponca City, Oklahoma, is an upright American citizen, born and bred in Oklahoma. He is a young man, just over forty, and through unremitting energy and keen business ability he has become the president of a flourishing bank and of prosperous lumber and oil companies. He is a millionaire who never has any trouble with his numerous employees because he treats them as copartners in the production of wealth.

McGraw has always been a devout Catholic. From the time his material prosperity permitted it he took a generous, practical interest in the affairs of the Church. He was one of the pioneers of the Knights of Columbus in the West, having been elected first State Deputy of the organization in Oklahoma. Nine years ago he was made a member of the Supreme Board of Directors of the K. of C. He served with distinction on the K. of C. committee on war activities, and, visiting France and England in the summer of 1918 with Dr. E. W. Buckley, Supreme Physician of the K. of C., he had much to do with the initiation of the successful K. of C. work with the A. E. F.

Besides his many patriotic activities, McGraw became keenly interested in politics. He is not, by nature, what is popularly known as a politician. He has the strange, businesslike quality of keeping promises he makes, because he has found it pays always to be square. He is the type of man the reformers want in politics.

He went in and worked hard for the success of his party in Oklahoma. So signal was his service that, some

years ago, he was honored by election to the office of national committeeman of his party. He served in that office with distinction. His party was not in power and so there was no patronage to be distributed, but McGraw is the type of man who can convince his fellow-citizens of his worth without recourse to patronage.

McGraw, apparently, made one mistake in entering active political life in Oklahoma. He refused to abjure his Faith, he refused to follow the trail of Iscariot.

The time came for him to seek reelection as national committeeman. He and his friends did not dream of a contest. The National Committee was satisfied with McGraw; his record was clean and enviable; he was a credit to the party. But something was happening underground. McGraw's friends detected it, and soon it was made very plain to them. Paid speakers were out against McGraw. A patriotic gentleman named "Jake" L. Hamon, who hailed from Ardmore, Oklahoma, was being held up to all the lodges of the different rites as an exemplar of civic virtue, while McGraw was openly accused of owing first allegiance to the Pope of Rome. McGraw had friends who were lodge members, they refused to believe that an upright, clean-living man like McGraw could subscribe to the ridiculous and outrageous "oath" of the K. of C. circulated by McGraw's opponents. But they were intelligent lodge-men; they were in a great minority. From a thing like the following item, printed as a paid advertisement over a genuine signature, an idea can be had of the scurrilous and utterly disgraceful campaign against McGraw. This is from the Woodward, Okla., *Democrat* of January 30, 1920.

I have been acquainted with Mr. Hamon and Mr. McGraw for over fifteen years, and, for the reason that I think the Republican party must see that only unquestioned Americans are put in high office and these hyphenated Americans not permitted to be in high office, I favor the election of Jake L. Hamon as one who would stick by the United States when put to any test. I cannot say this much for J. J. McGraw, because he is a Knight of Columbus, a high officer in the Catholic Church, and under strong ties to the Pope of Rome, and might be influenced in the wrong direction just at the most critical time.

Apart from the two lies contained in this amiable document—McGraw barely knows the man who signed it and McGraw is not a "high officer in the Catholic Church"—it is an amazing exhibit of the intolerance that Catholics, despite their splendid and publicly acknowledged services during the recent war, have to contend with.

Mr. McGraw, seeing the hopeless nature of his fight against organized bigotry in a State where the Catholic population is less than one per cent of the total, decided to withdraw from the contest. This statement of withdrawal is an honest avowal which every intelligent American will admire.

My devotion to the religious training which I received at my mother's knee, will not permit me to drag the creed to which she is a devotee into an unequal, unfair and unwarranted contest. . . . I have rendered loyal, unselfish service to my country and my party since my majority. In serving both in a subordin-

ate capacity, I was always welcome. At all times my religious affiliations were known. Then the men who have viciously assailed me were willing to have my support.

And for his loyalty, for his uprightness, for practising the Faith that his mother taught him, McGraw was conspired against and made the victim of hired liars. He was discriminated against because he is a Catholic. It is distressing, deplorable, but it is at least a clear illustration of what Catholics have been aware of for many years, that organized bigotry will act wherever and whenever it has sufficient strength.

No less a person than ex-President William Howard Taft investigated the McGraw case in Oklahoma. His investigation did not proceed from moral motives as such. What Mr. Taft wanted to learn was the reason for trouble in his party. In an article in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* he outlined the McGraw case and denounced it as an outrage against the American sense of decency, even in politics.

Of course, it goes without saying that money was spent freely to defeat McGraw. The *Tulsa World* of January 31, stigmatized the tactics employed against McGraw as "boodle and immorality," while the *Tulsa Democrat*, opposed to McGraw politically, yet denounced the shame of the proceedings and emphasized the fact that, even with vileness in full play, not a whisper was made against his character. He was attacked solely because of his religion.

What will be the sequel to this strange triumph of bigotry? For, of course, Hamon won. And the case becomes darker when we consider that another Knight of Columbus declined to run for re-election, because a religious fight was being launched against him! So, it is not a question of parties, it is a question of religion.

No less than three years ago a man by the name of Roy Crane, after being thrashed on the streets of Ponca City, Oklahoma, by James J. McGraw for his insulting remarks against Catholic nuns, was found guilty by an Oklahoma court of circulating the bogus oath attributed to the K. of C. Yet that "oath" was used effectively against McGraw. It is being circulated in rural New England and up-state New York even now! There are all manner of signs that bigotry is in harness and that it will ride roughshod over all the sacred principles of Americanism before the year is through, before the sun sets on November 4. A well-known writer, Irvin S. Cobb, remarked to McGraw: "Jim, you were beaten because you went to Mass instead of Sunday-school!" There is the diagnosis, the old game of proscription!

What can be done? Very little. For many lies can kill a Catholic's reputation without incurring what are known as legal damages. A Catholic in politics may fight all temptations and be as honest as the day, but he is a Catholic. The grand masters and other lord high officers who ape Anglican mummers in their lodge rites owe no allegiance abroad? Why discuss the matter?

It behooves the party leaders to see that the Oklahoma outrage is not repeated. Nothing can be gained by re-

ligious war. "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" is not yet a forgotten cry!

COMMUNICATIONS

Letters as a rule should not exceed six-hundred words

Starving Austrian Nuns

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In the issue of AMERICA for March 20, there appeared a plea, written by Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, for the suffering people of Austria. Through the columns of your very excellent weekly, we should like to make known the distressing condition of the starving Sisters of our Ursuline Convent at Innsbruck, Austrian Tyrol. The Mother Superior writes:

Ever since the first years of the war we have been living almost entirely on vegetables. Now our bread rations also have been stopped several times and for some weeks. In summer our good lay-sisters cultivated our grounds themselves for want of workmen. A lot of the things that we thus managed to grow by the sweat of our brow were stolen by the hungry rabble. Besides this loss, we have to deliver, from time to time, the produce of our fields and our cattle to the general maintenance. We are forced to live on what remains. It is evident that our food is insufficient in quantity as well as quality. This is proved by the fact that last year five Sisters died and others are in a bad state of health because I am not able to give them the necessary nourishing food. As a result of this want of proper nourishment, a softening of the bones has set in with some of the nuns, so that ten lay-sisters have become entirely incapacitated for work. For some time they could not walk a step; and now they can only get about laboriously, with the help of a stick. You can imagine how my heart bleeds when my Sisters ask me for a piece of bread, and I am not able to appease their hunger. One of our dear old nuns, who has taken her flight to heaven, often used to cry from hunger; and others cannot sleep at night for the same reason. Oh! If I only had some money! But with the fabulous prices that are demanded for things here, I am utterly incapable of procuring them what is necessary. And our community consists of a hundred members. Every, even the smallest gift, I shall accept with the deepest gratitude.

Help for these distressed Sisters will be greatly appreciated.
Springfield, Ill. URSULINE SISTERS.

Ethics Without God

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The code of ethics adopted by the American Federation of Teachers at its 1920 meeting is an interesting document.

In the various relations into which human beings are thrown by the exigencies of life and work, two dominating ideals prevail, namely, the ideal of human rights and human duties. Teachers, by virtue of their high office in training the youth of our country for effective citizenship, not only recognize the principles involved in these ideals, but employ them in their work, and foster them in the youth they train.

What about the ideal of Divine rights? Surely, that cannot be called a code of ethics which neglects the rights of the Creator. Yet, I have carefully studied this new code, as presented on page 7 of *School Life* for March 1, but I cannot find the slightest mention of God. The teacher may be responsible to the children and public of our country, but there is a lamentable omission in the statement that they "are the two outstanding bodies to whom teachers are responsible," as the second paragraph of this remarkable code of ethics has it. While "these must be recognized at every stage in educational situations and procedure," there is a far more powerful Person to whom the teacher is responsible and from whose jurisdiction no one can escape. Not a word about the rights of God. "They pledge themselves to conserve, promote and perpetuate all those ideals that emphasize human rights and to further, in every legitimate way, the progress of our beloved country towards its high destiny here and in the councils of the world." Is it any wonder that Catholics cheerfully undergo privations in order that their children may escape this blight of materialism?

Granite, Md.

JOHN P. GALLAGHER.

A M E R I C A

A • CATHOLIC • REVIEW • OF • THE • WEEK

SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1920

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Celluloid Love

WHEN the State of Nevada undertakes to investigate a divorce and subsequent attempt at remarriage, it is plain that there is something rotten in the State of Nevada. For of all the pest-holes that are making this country a scandal in the eyes of civilized nations, Nevada is the most open and the most disgusting. South Carolina grants no divorces, whatever be the cause alleged. New York has, in theory, a rigorous procedure. But Nevada severs the marriage tie in return for a legal residence, more or less fictitious, of a few weeks, a more, rather than a less, fictitious reason, and a decidedly unfictitious fee. Nevada is free to do all this if she wishes. Nothing can change her, except a higher sense, almost approaching the elemental, of morality. But no decent person is forced to take advantage of this public incitement to immorality. No decent person will.

Two individuals, stars of the flickering screen, have lately caused the State of Nevada, lowly as is its moral standard, to begin an investigation. No one is called on to assign final doom to these individuals, or to anticipate the findings in the case. They may indicate collusion, fraud, and bigamy; they may find the alleged culprit more pure than the driven snow. But the decent self-respecting man who occasionally takes his family to the neighborhood moving-picture theater need not remain altogether silent in face of this public scandal. He may even deem himself called upon to make his disapprobation felt in a very practical manner. Had this pair engaged in systematic shop-lifting, their value to the film-producer would be precisely nothing. Had they plotted to set fire to an orphan-asylum, their names would be in execration. But they have done neither of these things. They have only sought the guarantee of a law which tends to destroy the sanctity of the marriage bond, and that respect for marriage, as distinguished from polygamy, without which civilization is impossible.

The favor or disapprobation which they will now receive will register the moral health of the American people who in former days gladly contributed to the

enlargement of their bank-accounts. Perhaps history will repeat itself. There was a popular film-star who, a few years ago, threw off the mother of his children to engage with another love. He no longer flickers on a thousand reels, but amuses a small section of the public, as a member of a stock company in a Western town. Even from the financial standpoint, the only standpoint which such creatures can envision, successive polygamy did not pay.

The New York Legislature Expels the Socialists

THE New York legislature has concluded that men who take the oath of allegiance to the Socialist party cannot, without perjury, take the oath of allegiance to the State of New York. It has, therefore, expelled the five Socialist members elected from the city of New York. Whatever may be said of the purposes which stirred the legislators who first moved this expulsion, there is no reason to believe that the legislature itself was led by unworthy motives. That politics, grimy, partisan politics, played a part in the proceedings can hardly be doubted. That the legislature acted within its rights, is equally undoubted. By the Constitution, the legislature itself must judge the qualifications of its members. It is a great power, not to be hastily exercised, but when invoked as it has been in New York, the burden of proof rests upon the Socialists to show that it has been tyrannically or even unwisely used.

Yet what good will this action of the legislature effect? Perhaps it may bring home to some erratic minds, not familiar with the spirit of American institutions, the truth that despite the wrongs of peoples across the seas, allegiance to the United States must come first in the mind of every aspirant for a place in the legislature. But there, probably, its good effect will stop. It is better far to remove the evils of which men can justly complain than to suppress fanatics who may complain unwisely and out of due time. As long as the Socialists can point to sixty men who served their terms in the penitentiary for election frauds, while the wealthy man who engineered the frauds still goes free, they can argue that there is no justice for the poor in the courts, and point the argument with a point exceedingly sharp. Legislatures cannot do everything, but that is not equivalent to saying that they can do nothing. There are the profiteers, for instance. A group of dealers in wool, commonly called the "wool trust," received a dividend of \$6.40 per share in 1915, and of \$40.42 in 1917. The trite rejoinder of the profiteer is that the price of labor has increased. But no worker in wool received an increase of 600 per cent during that period, while clothes cost from three to five times the price paid five years ago. If a schoolteacher wants to wear a linen collar, the price he pays tells why the largest manufacturer of collars increased his net earnings from \$1,871,163 in 1918, to \$5,153,129 in 1919. But the teacher received no increase of 300 per cent in that year, nor did the workers in the profiteer's factory. The net earnings of the leather trust during the first nine months of

1919 show an increase of 103 per cent over the corresponding period in 1918. Is there any connection between this fact and the other fact that policemen, letter-carriers, firemen, and thousands of men whose earnings have increased but slightly if at all, now pay nearly twice the 1917 price for shoes?

There is a great outcry today against the unreasonable demands of labor. Some of the outcry is justified. But it should not be forgotten that many apparently unreasonable demands made by labor, are forced by the rapacity of profiteers who grant a wage-increase of ten per cent and make labor and the public pay for it by raising the price of their commodities twenty per cent.

Well enough is it for the New York legislature to purge itself of unworthy members, but better far for the general welfare when the New York legislature, and all legislative bodies, employ their great powers in the establishment of laws which will bring rich malefactors to justice, and destroy the tyranny of soulless corporations over the poor. No doubt the present tendency over-emphasizes the duty of the State to provide for individual welfare. Nevertheless, it is sound philosophy, Christian philosophy, to insist that the State fails in its duty when it fails to protect the individual in those circumstances under which he cannot well protect himself.

The Sacrilegious Moth

OUR separated brethren who may try to be Christian but never succeed in being scientific, are having their own troubles in the courts of the sovereign Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Even the learned limbs of the law, fretting their brains in their various efforts to assist the Court to arrive at justice, with a possible bias in their direction, do not make the precise ground of the trouble plain to the intelligent public. It's all mixed up, like Tom Sawyer's plans to free Jim. Mortal mind is in the ascendancy, and the day of the mesmerist, so feared of Mrs. Eddy, seems to dawn in the eyes of the Court. Or perhaps it doesn't. The matter is not clear. One point, however, is very clear: the end will be the triumph of the just who bear Mrs. Eddy's message to the world without change of jot or tittle. Anyone who does that is entitled to a triumph, and Mrs. Eddy assures him that he will have it. For

Notwithstanding the sacrilegious moth of time, eternity awaits our Church Manual, which will maintain its rank, as in the past, amid ministries aggressive and active, and will stand when these have passed to rest.

The sacrilegious moth is a new figure, and one which seems to have escaped the scrutiny of Mark Twain. But as between the Manual and the aggressive ministries, aided by the sacrilegious moth, the ministries reach an apparent triumph. For while the unfortunate Manual is forced to stand throughout eternity, battling with the sacrilegious moth, the active ministries, their work well done, pass on to rest. For the moth is always needed. Even Mrs. Eddy, cheerful optimist and skilful business-woman that she was, could hardly have allowed herself

to think of the possibility of a day in which the sacrilegious creature would sink to rest along with the aggressive ministries, for she knew well that her success lay in moderate opposition from without and union within. The type of mind to which her early efforts made their appeal, found in the most just criticism, the fullest proof that these wild vagaries were absolute truth, and even today without the sacrilegious moth Christian Science would mean little to many of its adherents. While the Manual may change, the sacrilegious moth will ever be reckoned an asset of supreme and immutable value.

The Nineteenth Amendment

THE Nineteenth Amendment crossed thirty-five bars in triumph, and stuck most tantalizingly on the thirty-sixth. Delaware furnished the fatal grounding. But the delay is only temporary, for the proposed Amendment is powerfully active. Editorial comment on "votes for women" is always perilous, for by the time the presses have completed their revolutions, the situation may have changed materially; and as these lines are read, it may be that another triumphant invasion of the right of the States to control their own affairs, is chronicled.

We seem on the verge of a new era. It was once thought that a Constitution differed essentially from a collection of laws. It was a statement of basic principles in government, a charter of the people's rights; it dwelt on what the people might do and the Government might not do, rather than on enlargement of the Government's power at the expense of the people; it was a shield against the possible tyranny of officialdom. Today our own immortal document includes the framework of a whole code of sumptuary legislation, and looks to the inclusion of a clause, urged by a singularly insistent and uniformly unsuccessful politician, establishing a single standard of morality.

An English philosopher once remarked that modern legislators had forgotten that laws should not be passed unless they were needed. The remark is applicable both to the Eighteenth Amendment, now cluttering the Constitution, and to the proposed Nineteenth. However great the abuses connected with the trade in alcoholic liquors, they were not so extreme as to be beyond the control of the local communities. It can hardly be said that the majority, or even a considerable number, of Americans were drunkards, or that most people who began with a glass of four per cent beer ended with *delirium tremens*. A surprisingly large number of Americans were total abstainers, and a surprisingly small number of those who used alcoholic liquors, went to an excess. The Eighteenth Amendment certainly did not bear the philosophic note of necessity, and its enforcement will engender a wholly new set of social evils, the first of which is the unwarranted invasion of the police powers of the respective States.

The adoption of an amendment to secure the vote for women is equally unnecessary. Any State which so

wishes may grant them the complete franchise. Kentucky took this course a few weeks ago, and without any reference to Federal action, the women of Kentucky now have the vote. Amendments were supposed to effect changes which could not be brought about by the States singly. The Nineteenth Amendment undertakes to do what every State can do for itself, and is therefore unnecessary. It is unjust, inasmuch as it will force certain States to changes which they consider inimical to their best interests. The claim is often made that the vote for women is a great move towards reform. But some room is left for doubt when it is remembered that, if the Nineteenth Amendment is adopted, the vote has been secured by a method altogether incompatible with the American doctrine of local self-government.

Is the Smith-Towner Bill Dead?

IF the Smith-Towner bill is dead, it is an exceedingly lively corpse. This morning's mail brings Publication No. 64, U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, which is an exceedingly rank specimen of the propaganda now issued at will by the Washington bureaucrats. This pamphlet features an utterly misleading account of the bill, stating that through it we must seek "the alternative of child labor," which is a plain lie, and ends the paragraph with the foolish prophecy: "If Congress grants this appropriation, it will mean that all the children of the country may in time have equal educational opportunities." The foolishness, as is obvious, has its malign side, since it foreshadows the abominable intention of the supporters of the Smith-Towner bill, *to put all education from the kindergarten to the university under the control of the Federal Government*. It is nothing less than a public scandal that Government officials should be thus permitted to spend the money of the people in lobbying for the adoption of pending legislation. Just another step and a short one, and we shall have bureaucrats for rulers, instead of public servants at Washington, and government by court circular replacing government by law.

The same mail brings a copy of a weekly magazine of national circulation with an article in favor of the Smith-Towner bill, and several letters which state that in two large Eastern cities, public school teachers are being

asked to sign petitions, urging the immediate consideration of the measure. The morning paper relates that the President of the New York State Teachers' Association, the President of the New York Principals' Association, and the Chairman of the Illinois School Committee have been instructed to approach the National Chairman, to request the adoption of a plank in the National Republican platform favoring the creation of a Department of Education.

If there was ever a time for watchfulness, that time is the present. Rumors that the Smith-Towner bill is dead, that it has been withdrawn permanently, will, if credited, clear the way of all opponents of the bill. True, it is not probable that the bill, in its present form, will be passed by this Congress. It is too rankly paternalistic, and the immense sums which it demands cannot at present be granted. But to believe that the factions which have worked for its passage have thrown aside their splendid machine in despair, argues ignorance of the dominant, aggressive educational philosophy by which they are animated. *It cannot be too strongly emphasized that they have not abandoned the bill, that they have no intention of abandoning it, and that they have a strong following in Congress.*

The present plan seems to be to move the adoption of the bill section by section. A prominent member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, a man who has done his best to secure the passage of the bill as introduced, has stated that, in his opinion, the ridiculous Kenyon Americanization bill, will prepare the people to agree to the establishment of a Department of Education. With the different parts of the bill separately adopted, it would probably be easy after a few years, to unite the different bureaus into a single Department of Education, on the plea of economy and higher "efficiency." As a matter of fact, the plan proposed by the Senator has already been adopted by the partisans of a similar centralizing measure in the State of Massachusetts.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. If the friends of freedom in education hope to defeat this autocratic measure, which in the end will put every form of education under the control of the Federal Government, they must be eternally vigilant and eternally aggressive. Now is the time to fight, not to congratulate ourselves that the fight is won. For it is only beginning.

Literature

MILITANT MEDIAEVALISM

HILAIRE BELLOC, in his little book on the French Revolution, notices as a characteristic dogma of the Revolutionists the belief that the Catholic Church was moribund, if not actually defunct. With this dogma of politics a philosophical dogma ran parallel. It was the belief that mediaevalism was dead, the firm conviction that, though other ghosts might revisit the intellectual world to question the validity of post-Reformation philosophy, the ghosts of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus would never gibber again.

It was a natural belief for rationalists to adopt especially since everything they beheld in the Catholicism of their time helped to confirm them in their belief. Catholic churchmen as great as Bossuet and Fénelon had called the Gothic architecture "barbaric", though it was one of the fairest flowers of mediaevalism. In many seminaries the philosophy of Descartes, Locke, Malebranche and Condillac had ousted the mighty masters of mediaevalism. The doctrine of the Divine right of kings, a distinctively Protestant theory and the negation of the Catholic political philosophy of the Middle Ages was in the ascendant. Society, more-

over, had been robbed by the purse-picking evangelists of the so-called Reformation of such beneficial social contrivances as the guilds and was wallowing in the slough of individualism and industrialism. Finally the international influence of the Papacy, one of the outstanding features of the Middle Ages, had shrunk almost to impotence.

But just at this moment when mediaevalism seemed dead it suddenly became militant. In France and Germany the Romantic movement began with a flood-tide that set swiftly in the direction of mediaeval motives. At least fifty German litterateurs and critics followed the lead of Frederick Schlegel who joined the Church in the year 1805. In France from the very day on which Chateaubriand published his romance "Atala" a revival of mediaeval ideas was in progress. When to the influence of his "*Génie du Christianisme*" could be added that of Count de Maistre's "*Du Pape*" the mediaeval impulse went into the province of history as well as of literature.

Then in what robes of honor habited
The laureled wizard of the North appears
Who raised Prince Charlie's cohorts from the dead,
Made Rose's mirth and Flora's noble tears,
And formed that shining legion at whose head
Rides Waverley, triumphant o'er the Years.

These beautiful lines of Joyce Kilmer truly intimate the marvelous potency of Scott's mediaeval message. Errors in detail he may have made—in "The Antiquary," for instance, he ends a Catholic funeral service with a loud Alleluia—but the substance of his work made men sympathetic towards the Ages of Faith and as Newman says in his essay on the Anglican Church, made him "an oracle of truth confronting the ministers of error and sin." In England, too, at about the same time mediaeval ideas energized through the poetry of Coleridge, Keats, Browning, Tennyson, Aubrey de Vere and Keble, while an entire literature in prose, embodying the mediaeval concept of the Church, grew up about Newman's counter-Reformation at Oxford. By the year 1850 militant mediaevalism could boast of being a powerful leaven in the literature of France, Germany, England and Scotland.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw mediaeval ideas triumphant in history, in art, and philosophy. The history of the mediaeval universities, of the guilds, of Gothic architecture, began to be written objectively instead of with an eye to oblique thrusts at the Catholic Church. Non-Catholics like Sabatier, Ruskin, Hauréau, Renan and our own Henry Adams began to grow enthusiastic about the art and philosophy of the Middle Ages. Pope Leo XIII inaugurated a revival of mediaeval philosophy which has produced in the last fifty years over 2,000 original works besides sumptuous critical editions of all the great philosophers of the golden age of scholasticism. The Pre-Raphaelite movement and its recent defenders sent art in search of mediaeval motives.

With Leo XIII the return to the Middle Ages emerged from the realm of ideological reconstruction into the social and political world. The international position of the Papacy which was almost nil in the year 1800 had grown almost to its mediaeval greatness a century later despite the fact that the temporal power of the Pope had vanished. He was sought as an arbitrator in disputes between nations. The labor unions which were and are rather pale shadows of those vital mediaeval things called guilds began to come into prominence at the same time. And far from repudiating the paleness of their mediaevalism the great Pope recognized in the labor unions a reversion to their primitive type and he gave to an astonished world his encyclical on the labor question. Today there is an entire party in England, the Guild-Socialists, who are, with incidental error it is true, witnessing to the truth and social sanity of the mediaeval guild system.

Today there are signs of mediaevalism militant whichever way we turn. In Ireland, in India, in Egypt, in Russia we see the people stretching out their hands for a few acres of the soil. The mediaeval institution of widely-distributed property as the basis of economic welfare has attracted them. Everywhere too there is a recognition, theoretical rather than practical in English lands, of the mediaeval ethical principle that the only lawful governments are those formed on the consent of the governed. Then what is the League of Nations but a marrowless, powerless *simulacrum* of the Papacy of the Middle Ages? Finally some of the best literary men of the day are numbered among the militant mediaevalists. Belloc, Cardinal Mercier, Chesterton, Maynard, Cram, Cardinal Gasquet, Penty and a host of sociologists, artists and historians are pushing the claims of the ages when Gothic and gargoyles flourished with knights and crusades.

ALFRED G. BRICKEL, S.J.

BALLAD OF LOW WEEK

It happened all in Dublin Town
When Low Week fell in May,
That sons of mine went out to die;
And gallant men were they
Whom Mother Church brought forth to Life
The morn of their birthday.

No Mass was sung till they were laid
Between the lime and sod;
But Lark he is a holy bird
And glories much with God.

'Twas my young men who fell beside
Their shadows on the grass;
And blessings on you, Father Lark,
For chanting Nature's Mass.

(It happened all in Dublin Town
When Low Week fell in May,
That my young sons went forth to die;
And gallant men were they
Whose empty biers were laid before
Dark altars on that day.)

No choir sung above them who
Were candleless and grim;
But Cricket he was altar-aid
To Lark and answered him.

'Twas my young men they buried deep,
With neither book nor bell;
And blessings on you, Cricket, for
You echoed Lark right well.

It happened all in Dublin Town
When Low Week fell in May,
That sons of mine went out to die;
And gallant men were they
Whom Mother Church brought forth to Life
The morn of their birthday.

FRANCIS CARLIN.

REVIEWS

Tete-D'Or. A Play in Three Acts. By PAUL CLAUDEL. Translated from the French by JOHN STRONG NEWBERRY. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$2.00.

No doubt every one who read that strong drama "The Hostage" will now be eager to follow the author's Simon Agnel, "the Head of Gold," through the three tragic acts of his new play. It has been so well translated by Mr. Newberry that the

lines seem to lose little of the original's poetic beauty and dramatic intensity. The play's argument is briefly this: Simon Angel, a barbaric son of the soil, wins the love of his friend Cébès' sweetheart, but she dies and in a strong scene he buries her on the desolate moor, while Cébès stoically looks on. Simon then saves his country by driving out the invader, and subsequently leads a popular revolution, murders his king, usurps the throne and banishes the king's daughter. While striving to extend his conquests, Tête-D'Or is overcome and dies on a mountain-top, his tragic end having an added element of horror in the death, on the same spot, of the banished princess, whom a deserter had nailed by the hands to a tree.

There are some thirty characters in the play and all keep speaking lines of remarkable power and beauty. The author gives free rein to a gifted poet's fancy, heaps metaphor on metaphor in luxuriant profusion and piles horror on horror till his readers, their hearts purified by terror and pity, close the book and leave the princess clad in her royal robes, lying dead on the body of Tête-D'Or. The following passage from the old king's speech in the second act, not long before he is killed, is a good example of M. Claudel's power:

Look at me, me the old man;
By this hoary beard that I tear with both hands, I swear
That disaster incarnate
Stands before you and cries, "*Adsum!*"
You heard the sound of his rage like a battle beneath the
horizon,
And now with nodding funereal plumes
The Agony of Death strides terribly towards you, like a
colossus, with copper cheeks, shaking the flimsy struc-
tures you have reared.
I wandered in, the night with foam as thick as a camel's
slaver, dripping from my jaws! I was an outcast! The
hounds of hell were gnawing my heart!
Now in the day
I stride before the legions, mid blood and the crackle of fire,
like a flaming windmill, brandishing a flail, clenching be-
tween my teeth a sword as big as an oar.

The sustained strength with which M. Claudel rises to the climaxes of the play and the tragic splendor, in particular, of the third act's close, the profound thought in many a line, and the poetic loveliness of countless expressions, prove that this Catholic dramatist is among the few real poets in the world today.

W. D.

Ludendorff's Own Story. August 1914-November 1918. The Great War from the Siege of Liège to the Signing of the Armistice as Viewed from the Grand Headquarters of the German Army. By ERICH VON LUDENDORFF, Quartermaster-General of the German Army. With Frontispiece and Many Maps. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$7.50.

The reading of these volumes produces something of the sensation of awe and admiration which we felt in the spring and early summer of 1918 when the Quartermaster-General of the German army launched those terrible attacks against the Allied armies which were to cut their way to Paris and the Channel ports and close the war with a great German victory. We feel in presence of a tremendous power, a relentless machine that drives on remorselessly to its appointed task, careless of the havoc it spreads in its path. Ludendorff writes as he fought, remorselessly. Undeniable as was his power as a strategist, for he is one of the three or four great military figures of the titanic contest, his power as a writer is almost as great. He lays down his arguments, aligns his facts, deduces his conclusion as coldly and as skilfully as he ordered his drives on the Chemin des Dames or in Picardy. From the military point of view, the book is a history of the whole war from Liège and Tannenberg to the end of October 1918. It is written with soldierly bluntness and sincerity.

We know of that history from Germany's opponents. Now we have it from one of the chief actors on the other side. Ludendorff's thesis is an indictment of German diplomacy. According to him, the German armies were not defeated in the field, they were conquered in the Cabinet and Administration at home, by Socialist and pacifist agitators. There is some truth in this. But his own statements seem in many places to contradict his general purpose. If German diplomacy was ineffective and often blundered, it was because the military authorities called it into play to repair irreparable defeats. If the Revolution ruined Germany, as Ludendorff bitterly complains, it was because Germany by her traditions and system, as well as by the will of her rulers had imposed upon her armies, to which no one can deny the most astounding qualities, an impossible task. Victory snatched from their grasp at the very moment she expected it, vanished dreams of world-empire, not only broke the hearts of the people at home, but shattered the morale of the army. After the middle of July 1918, even a greater military leader than Ludendorff must have yielded to the genius of Foch. After that date a German victory was an impossibility.

The whole book is pervaded with the grim personality of the writer. An apologist of the Prussian system, the Quartermaster-General unconsciously brings out the monstrous evil of militarism, which it is hoped will be forever crushed out no matter in what part of the world it dares show its head. Ludendorff everywhere in these pages appears as the "strong man" needed for a great crisis. There is in him no trace of petty vanity, but he has an overwhelming consciousness of his own power. He speaks of his responsibility in the solemn moments of his military tasks as the heaviest that history has known, of his decisions as the most momentous in military history. His restless activity extends from the field to diplomacy. His interference must have been unwelcome to the Administration as it was to the Kaiser with whom he finally broke shortly before the armistice. Ludendorff's masterful volumes prove beyond doubt that force, wielded even by a man of iron will as he was, must ultimately fail when unsupported by justice.

J. C. R.

Loyola Latin Elements. By WILLIAM A. DOWD, S.J. \$1.00; **Cicero, Pro Milone.** Edited by LEO W. KEELER, S.J. \$0.80; **The Vision of Sir Launfal.** Edited by DANIEL A. LORD, S.J. \$0.10; **The King of the Golden River.** Edited by A. G. SCHMIDT, S.J. \$0.10; **Memory Gems.** Collected by WILLIAM A. DOWD, S.J. \$0.10; **Musa Americana.** First Series. Second Series. By A. F. GEYSER, S. J. \$0.15 and \$0.25. Chicago: Loyola University Press.

These books, are to be commended both for their intrinsic excellence and for their very moderate price. "Loyola Latin Elements" will be welcomed by many teachers because of its arrangement; for it presents the first principles of etymology and syntax in regular and continuous sequence, precisely like a grammar reduced to a small compass. The plan of most books for Latin and Greek, jumbling together nouns, pronouns, bits of verbs and shreds of syntax, and diluting the mixture with exercises and vocabularies, results in hopeless confusion to teacher and pupil. In this case the author has brought together the necessary Exercises and Reading Matter in their proper place at the end of the book. Mr. Keeler's edition of Cicero's speech seems to differ from others mainly in the feature of reducing the number of grammatical references and in stressing the rhetorical criticism. This is an undoubted help for teachers who wish to be more than mere expositors of grammar rules. We think that Cicero's rhetorical subterfuges ought to be brought out far more emphatically; for this is a trait that we do not wish the student to imitate but to avoid. The twelve exercises at the end of the book illustrate very well the difference between Latin and English idioms.

The editor of each of the English texts uses the notes to call attention to simple literary traits in the selection rather than to gather an indigestible mass of erudition. "Memory Gems" contains also some rather elaborate suggestions for training this important faculty. The first series of "*Musa Americana*" contains a Latin version of twelve patriotic songs set to popular melodies, the melody being indicated in each case by citing the first line of some well-known air. In the second series the author applies the same treatment to popular home-songs. Both collections will be found useful for entertainments given by classical clubs or by high-school and colleges classes.

F. M. C.

Just Happy. By GRACE KEON. New York: The Devin-Adair Co. \$1.65.

Ostensibly the tale of a not very prepossessing but quite lovable dog, this story is really a chapter of family life of a delightful, old-fashioned type. In spite of the prudential opposition of the head of the household, the dog with the aid of conspirators invades the home circle and by his fidelity, gentleness with the children and other canine virtues, takes the young members by storm and even succeeds in winning over the mother. It is with the dog's adventures that boys, for the book is apparently intended mainly for them, will find its chief charm. There is, however, a deeper attraction in it, which lies in its suggestion, not voiced but implied, that family affection, if it be of the right sort, the kind that makes home the center of life and not merely a place where comparative strangers meet to have their meals, idealizes the simplest incidents and can easily dispense with those adventitious pleasures and outside attractions with which modern life is so feverishly and so foolishly concerned. In some ways it is rather a mother's book than a boy's book; and certainly it could never have been written except by a mother and the mother of many boys, for only a mother could have understood so well either a boy's ways or a mother's anxious love. Its seeming artlessness, its facile narrative, its little stabs of spontaneous emotion, and its surprising pictures of a family finding its full complement of enjoyment within the radius of its own humble dwelling, all combine to make it a pleasant picture of domestic simplicity.

J. H. F.

Picture-Show. By SIEGFRIED SASSOON. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Sassoon is an English pacifist who fought in the war. In this new book of poems he sounds again the note that made "Counter-attack" so faithful a record of the civilian-soldier's reactions to the horrors of modern warfare. To the author "Life is just the picture dancing on a screen" which he cynically watches from a dark corner. The following sonnet called "Memorial Tablet" is highly characteristic of Mr. Sassoon's manner and mind:

Squire nagged and bullied till I went to fight
(Under Lord Derby's Scheme). I died in hell—
(They called it Passchendaele). My wound was slight,
And I was hobbling back; and then a shell
Burst slick upon the duck-boards: so I fell
Into the bottomless mud and lost the light.
At sermon-time, while Squire is in his pew,
He gives my gilded name a thoughtful stare;
For, though low down upon the list, I'm there;
"In proud and glorious memory" . . . that's my due.
Two b. eding years I fought in France, for Squire:
I suffered anguish that he's never guessed.
Once I came home on leave; and then went west . . .
What greater glory could a man desire?

"Atrocities" and "Aftermath" are strong war-poems written in the same caustic vein as the foregoing sonnet, but the poem entitled "Vision," ending with the line "O Beauty, born of lovely things that die!" and the following "Elegy" to a slain comrade show the author in a gentler mood:

Your dextrous wit will haunt us long,
Wounding our grief with yesterday.
Your laughter is a broken song:
And death has found you, kind and gay.

We may forget those transient things
That made your charm and our delight:
But loyal love has deathless wings
That rise and triumph out of night.

So, in the days to come, your name
Shall be as music that ascends
When honor turns a heart from shame . . . friends!
O heart of hearts! . . . O friend of friends!

W. D.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

"The Lure of the Pen" (Putnam), by Flora Klickmann, is an excellent book for those who would write; and also for those who would profitably read. The author is to be praised for her sound idea of literary values. An early chapter on "Observation" suggests Archbishop Spalding's essay on "Opportunity," while the basic precept for good writing coincides with that of an eminent literateur who gave one principle to would-be authors, i. e., the cultivation of great urbanity. Part three, "Helps That Books Can Give," is scented with "Sesame and Lilies." The author's playful depreciation of the modern story is quite convincing. It may be safely said, that one who reads "The Lure of the Pen" will be drawn to careful speaking and choice reading and, though not a would-be author, will even feel the temptation to experience in the concrete the suggestions of the book.

Mother St. Paul's latest ascetical book is called "*Dona Christi*" (Longmans, \$1.75) and consists of thirty-five meditations for Ascension-tide, Whitsun-tide and Corpus Christi. Beginning with the fifth Sunday after Easter the author first offers some practical reflections on prayer, then follow good meditations on the Ascension, six on the "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," seven on the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and seven on the "*Adoro Te Devote*." The series ends with a meditation for the Feast of the Sacred Heart. As in Mother St. Paul's other books, the method followed is that of St. Ignatius: preludes, three points, colloquy, resolution and "spiritual bouquet." Father Joseph Rickaby writes the preface.—The Rev. F. J. Remler, C.M., has arranged in an attractive little book called "Our Saviour's Own Words" (Abbey Student Press, St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kansas, \$0.80 and \$0.65), "a daily thought from the Gospel on the one thing necessary." Appropriate texts emphasizing the Christian virtues are set down from January 1 to December 31.

"Music Mountain" (Longmans, \$2.00), by E. O. Somerville and Martin Ross, according to its authors, is "no more than an effort to lift, for a moment, the inevitable curtain that hangs between Irish and English every-day life," and succeeds in depicting with a good deal of vividness the radical differences which divide the people of Ireland. The story is well told, and the characters are cleverly drawn, that of Christian in particular being distinctive and attractive. The author, however, is not free from the very prejudice she deplores, and has been up to her old tricks of giving the monopoly of refinement to the Protestants, and making the villains all Catholics. There is not even a suspicion of the inner spirit of Catholicism in Ireland, and the coarse externals with which she has invested those of the Faith, both priests and people, is of course a mere travesty.—"The Last Straw" (Small, Maynard, \$1.75), by Harold Titus, is a typical frontier story, with unscrupulous villains, a much-beset girl and one of nature's noblemen. The latter two make their way through misunderstanding and many trials to victory, security and marriage. The action is rapid, and the interest is maintained.—Sidney Williams' new novel, "An Unconscious

Crusader," (Small, Maynard, \$1.75), entertainingly follows the career of James Radbourne, from the time he becomes a reporter on the *Fordport Globe* till he ends as manager and editor of his own daily. The life of a newspaper man in the average American town is well described and "Miladi" supplies the "heart-interest."

Mr. Terence L. Connolly, S. J., lecturer on the history of English literature at Fordham University, has written a pamphlet which is a good corrective for the anti-Catholic bias of such text-books as Dr. Long's "History of English Literature." In his examination of "Puritanism in History and Literature" (Fordham University, New York, \$0.15) Mr. Connolly shows that whatever good there was in the religion of the New England Calvinists were "tenets that had been part of the (Catholic) Church's doctrine from the beginning," proves that the vaunted "tolerance" of the Puritans was non-existent and demolishes the conventional portrait of Oliver Cromwell, showing what a despot he really was. The much-belauded character of Milton is submitted to a like analysis and Dante's genius is contrasted with that of the Puritan poet. Teachers of English literature will find the pamphlet useful.—A recent number of the *English Leaflet*, a little monthly which is published by the New England Association of Teachers of English (A. B. De Mille, Milton, Mass., \$1.00 a year) contains a thoughtful and practical paper on "The Possibilities of Ethical Instruction Through Literature" by Mrs. Mary H. Dowd of Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, Hookset, N. H., which teachers of English ought to read.

Among the clever "Mother Goose Sonnets" in Thomas Walsh's recent book, "Don Folquet and Other Poems" (Lane, \$1.50), is this tribute to the renowned harmony of Mr. and Mrs. Sprat's domestic life:

Oh happiest of mortals, in an age
Of legal separation and divorce!—
How many hear your story in remorse!—
Would Jack were patron-saint of husbands sage;
That thou, madame, could wifely thoughts engage,
Till maids and bachelors should have recourse
As pilgrims to your platter, as a source
Of grace that would their marriage qualms assuage!

Thus Time would canonize your names benign,
Bards name you in the Daphnis-Chloe line
And realists proclaim you glorious!
Stoic and cynic, too, would stand aside
In awe before the maxim you provide,—
"Non disputandum est de gustibus."

According to Mgr. Gibier, the eloquent Bishop of Versailles, in his thoroughly practical book "*Le Relèvement National*" (Paris: Téqui; 5 fr.), a nation has an economic, commercial, industrial, political, social and intellectual life that clamors for the most perfect organization possible. But important as these elements are, says the prelate, they do not constitute the entire life of a nation. For peoples are not merely an aggregate of inert economic or social factors. As we analyze them, we find that they are composed of living men, hence of souls. In such a thing, therefore, as a national revival or reconstruction, the most vital factor is the soul of the individual. Our Redeemer saved the world and rebuilt it on a nobler plan, by recreating the soul of humanity in the individual by renewing it in His grace and strengthening it with His power. Today as twenty centuries ago, salvation must come to the world by a spiritual reconstruction that must begin in the soul of the individual. A simple thesis, but a solid foundation on which to build the structure of national reconstruction. In such a work of rebuilding the nation,

the Bishop of Versailles considers two classes of men, those upon whom we cannot count to help in the task, and those upon whom we can and must rely. Among the first he places the blind, the skeptic, the social climbers, the pleasure-seekers, the professional corruptors of youth, the careless and indifferent, the cowardly, the woman inferior to her calling and opportunities. In the ranks of the second he numbers the dead with their splendid example of sacrifice and generosity, the men of faith and conviction, the hard-workers and organizers, the apostles and the men of zeal, the civic, religious and intellectual leaders in the Catholic community, the Catholic educators and heads of families, the genuinely Catholic woman.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- D. Appleton & Co., New York:
Mercier, the Fighting Cardinal of Belgium. By Charlotte Kellog. Foreword by Brand Whitlock. \$2.00.
The Catholic Education Press, New York:
A General History of the Christian Era. In Two Volumes; Volume One. From the Beginning to the So-Called Reformation (1—1517). A Text-book for High School and Colleges. By Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., S.T.D.
The Catholic Truth Society, London and Brooklyn:
The Martyrs of Uganda. With a Preface by the Very Rev. Francis Canon Ross; The Failure of Anglicanism as Set Forth by Frederick Joseph Kinsman, Late Bishop of Delaware, U. S. A.; A Fairy Godmother. By Leslie Moore. \$0.05 each.
The Devin-Adair Co., New York:
Just Happy, the Story of a Dog—and Some Humans. By Grace Keon. \$1.65.
George H. Doran Co., New York:
Home—Then What? The Mind of the Doughboy, A. E. F. By the Doughboy Himself. Collected and Arranged by James Louis Small. With Foreword by John Kendrick Bangs. \$1.25; Happy House. By the Baroness von Hutten. \$1.75; Memories and Records. By Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher. In Two Volumes. With Portraits and Illustrations. \$8.00; Songs from the Journey. By Wilton Agnew Barrett. \$1.25.
Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y.:
The Life of Leonard Wood. By John C. Holme. Illustrations from Photographs.
E. P. Dutton & Co., New York:
Ireland an Enemy of the Allies. Translated from the French of R. C. Esconflaire. \$2.50; Red Terror and Green. The Sinn Fein-Bolshevik Movement. By Richard Dawson. \$2.50.
Egmont Arens, New York:
The Widow's Veil. A Comedy in One Act. By Alice Rostetter. \$0.35.
The Four Seas Co., Boston:
Outdoors and In. A Collection of Verse. By Joshua Freeman Crowell. \$1.50; The Birth of God. By Verner von Heidenstam. Authorized Translation from the Swedish by Karoline M. Knudsen. \$1.25.
M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., Dublin:
A Patriot Priest. By Rev. D. Riordan, C.C.
Harper & Brothers, New York:
Now It Can Be Told. By Philip Gibbs. Frontispiece. \$3.00; In the World War. By Count Ottokar Czernin, Former Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs. \$4.00; Alsace in Rust and Gold. By Edith O'Shaughnessy. Illustrated. \$2.00.
Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston:
Substitutes for the Saloon. By Raymond Calkins. Second Edition. Revised. With an Introduction by Francis G. Peabody. \$1.75; The Almonds, a Study of the Feeble-Minded. By Helen MacMurchy. \$1.50; The Island of Sheep. By Cadmus and Harmonia. \$1.50; The Elder's People. By Harriet Prescott Spofford. \$1.75.
The Jefferson Publishing Co., New York:
My Political Trial and Experience. By Jeremiah A. O'Leary. Including a Biographical Sketch of the Author. By Major Michael A. Kelly. With Preface by Joseph W. Gavan, Esq. \$3.00.
The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia:
Hellenism. Movements in Judaism. By Norman Bentwich.
J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia:
The Eastern Question and Its Solution. By Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., LL.D. With a Map of the Near East. \$1.50.
Longmans, Green & Co., New York:
Dona Christi. Meditations for Ascensiontide, Whitsuntide and Corpus Christi. By Mother St. Paul. Preface by Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. \$1.75; The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: A Study of Their Politics, Civil Life and Government. By John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., 1558-1580; From the Fall of the Old Church to the Advent of the Counter-Reformation. With Illustrations. \$7.50; Worth. Lectures. By the Rev. Robert Kane, S.J. \$2.25.
The Macmillan Co., New York:
The Life of General William Booth, Founder of the Salvation Army. By Harold Begbie. With Illustrations. In Two Volumes. \$10.50; Miser's Money. By Eden Phillpotts. \$2.00.
John Joseph McVey, Philadelphia:
The Pope and Italy. By Very Rev. Nazareno Casacca, O.S.A., D.D. Translated from the Original Italian by Rev. J. A. Hickey, O.S.A., D.D. With a Preface by Most Rev. D. J. Dougherty, D.D. \$0.50.
The Paulist Press, New York:
Reconstruction Virtues. By Thomas F. Burke, C.S.P. \$1.00.
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York:
The Rose of Jericho. By Ruth Holt Boucicault. \$1.90.
The Queen's Work Press, St. Louis:
To Margaret Mary in Heaven. By Edward F. Garesché, S.J.
Charles Scribner's Sons, New York:
Socialism vs. Civilization. By Boris L. Brasol. With an Introduction by T. N. Carver. \$2.00.

SOCIOLOGY

Scouting for Catholic Boys

THE Great War was the crucible in which many organizations received their test of fire. Some were found wanting, others, foremost among them the Knights of Columbus, emerged with imperishable glory. Although the Boy Scouts of America celebrated their tenth anniversary last February, it was their spectacular war work since 1916 that has brought them prominently before the public. A scout must "be prepared," and when men and women were working at fever pitch to win the war, the Government was glad to avail itself of the Scout organization, 400,000 strong, ready for instant service and eager to help. The liberty loans, the war savings campaigns and the Red Cross drives are only a few of the scout activities that were a real help to the country. The scout with his war medals is a hero to-day in the sight of the younger boy, and the prospect of future service in emergencies makes him feel his responsibility.

The first Catholic troop of Boy Scouts was organized in the Cathedral parish, New York City, in 1914, but until 1917 the growth of the movement was slow. Since then it has received the hearty endorsement of many American prelates. Both the daily and our religious papers recently published a letter from Pope Benedict XV blessing all those engaged in promoting scouting among Catholic boys. Not only in this country has the Church sanctioned the movement, but a missionary Bishop from China who is now visiting America paid a glowing tribute to the Boy Scout troops organized in China by the Jesuit missionaries.

PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION

THE endorsement of the Boy Scouts by the Church was only after careful consideration, and adequate means have been taken to safeguard the Faith of our boys. At the national headquarters of the Boy Scouts of America, Father John F. White, representative of the National Catholic Welfare Council, has an office. Father White was appointed to this position by Archbishop Hayes. One of his duties is to assist in editing the Boy Scout publications. By order of the National Headquarters, in all towns where the troops are governed by a local council, a Catholic must be a member of the Council. All Catholic troops must be chaplained by a priest and led by a Catholic scoutmaster.

The scout movement can be epitomized in its oath, called so for want of a better name:

On my honor I will do my best
To do my duty to God and to my country and to obey the Scout laws
To help other people at all times
To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight

The scout motto is "Do a good turn daily."

With loyalty to God and country as the soul of the movement, the scout program is one that has an appeal for every boy. By fulfilling certain requirements a boy becomes first a tenderfoot, a second class, first class, life, star, and finally an eagle scout. Each rank has its distinguishing badge; hence the competition to advance is keen. A boy with a first class badge has earned two dollars and deposited it in bank, tied nine knots, swum fifty yards, taken a fourteen mile "hike," mastered signaling, cooked a meal in the open, learned to find the north by the sun and stars, practised first aid, and given satisfactory evidence to his scoutmaster that he has lived up to his pledge of a daily good turn.

When he becomes a first class scout each step towards his eagle badge has its visible reward, called a merit badge. These merit badges are worn on a scout's sleeve. Camping, life sav-

ing, athletics, public health, personal hygiene, civics and bird study, are a few of the twenty-one merit badges an eagle scout must earn.

METHODS

THE boy who has become an eagle scout or even a first class scout has learned much that will help him be a practical Catholic and hence a good citizen. His thrift, his interest in the health of the community, his first aid and his daily good turn are all applications of his Catholic Faith. All boys do not advance this far, and while each test passed is excellent in itself, the aim of scouting is to develop a boy spiritually, mentally and physically. The program is offered for the guidance of the pastor and the scoutmaster, as the most effective way of running a troop. Ten years' experience has demonstrated the great value of the scout program and its attraction for boys. The brighter, more energetic boys will advance rapidly, with little assistance from the scoutmaster. This enables the scoutmaster to study the laggard, and give him what will be interesting, as he is the boy who most needs scouting.

The boys should be taught through scouting a real love of their Church and an intense pride in being Catholic scouts. A boy has a thrill of proper pride when he does a good turn or when he is praised by one he admires. He is spurred on to greater efforts. When he is shown that his daily good turn which brings so much happiness is merely a practical application of the Commandment to love his neighbor for the love of God he will have learned the great lesson of life, that to be actively good is to be happy.

The boy should be encouraged to advance in scoutcraft, but each test should be an opportunity to demonstrate his Catholic honor. If he plays football he goes on the field knowing he represents the Catholic scouts, and he plays the game cleanly. Scoutcraft is only a means to attain scouthood. Even the uniform, while desirable, is merely an adjunct. The only requirements for membership are that a boy be over twelve years old, that he be registered at national headquarters, and that he will not commercialize the uniform.

THE SCOUTMASTER

THE success of a Catholic scout troop is measured by the degree to which the boys have become imbued with the idea that big and fine as the scout organization is, there is one bigger and better, the Catholic Church. This requires skillful leadership, but not necessarily experience. Service in the army is an excellent qualification, as an army man has learned much scoutcraft. But the one requirement is that the scoutmaster be a man of ideals, a man whom the boys can love and admire. He must be able to teach them sportsmanship in their games, listen sympathetically to their troubles, and encourage the boys who make little progress. A boy's enthusiasm is easily kindled, and he will go where the man leads. Starting off on a "hike," the scoutmaster can announce that it will be a "good turn hike," doing the first good turn himself. The boys will tumble over each other to be the first one to earn commendation for a good turn. Once a month he can ask what boys are going to Holy Communion *with him*. He should show interest and faith in each boy, but a guiding, not a blind faith, and such pride in their troop that the boys will work to deserve it. Six months as scoutmaster of a troop of Catholic scouts would convince a misanthrope that no work could be more interesting and that no boys are as responsive to good leadership as our young Catholics.

The scout movement offers a boy healthy recreation in a national organization under Catholic leadership. In one large city with an enrollment of 8,000 scouts, 1,700 Catholic boys are connected with community troops, or those of Protestant churches, because there are no Catholic troops near them. The

National Catholic Welfare Council to remedy this has a representative in most States to assist in organizing troops.

The Bishop of Newark in a pastoral letter urging the priests of his diocese to form scout troops writes: "The fact that it has received the blessing of the Holy Father merits for it the assistance of all who are interested in the welfare of our boys that they may grow up to be worthy citizens of our country and faithful adherents of Mother Church." Some suggestions on organization will be offered in a succeeding paper.

JOHN B. HENKLES.

EDUCATION

A Garden for a Child

WE Americans, grown fretful under nature's lavish hand, have come to look upon a garden as a thing apart, an indulgence of the rich, a hobby of suburbanites, a profession for farmers. We dub it a necessity or possibly a luxury, according to our point of view, forgetting that a garden was the first thing in the world. Do we classify meals as necessities or luxuries? Or books? No, these things are part of life without which we cannot humanly live; they belong to man's estate. And like these, a garden is natural to a man, without which his development is not complete or sufficient.

Once upon a time there was a small boy whose sister's beau one April sedulously cultivated a few pale hairs upon his upper lip. The family wondered that he should persist in such an evidently unsuccessful endeavor, until Tommy casually explained the impulse: "Sure, it is spring and he must grow something."

IN TUNE WITH LIVING

THAT'S it. We must grow something. Tommy knew, for he had a row of nasturtiums against the fence from which he got nosegays and a good working philosophy. But many children, playing frantically about white-washed apartment houses, have no such teacher. A seed in a flower-pot would be garden enough, but they lack even that, and so grow up unfinished, half-ripe, because their outlook on nature is a blank wall, windowless.

We might descant at tempting length on the value of a garden in training all the faculties of a child: how the process of growth stirs reason to wonder, shapes judgment with its slow balance of nutrition and production; how the use of varied labor every day links interest with duty to evoke a cheerful will and inculcate perseverance through an unmonotonous routine; how the colors and evanescent forms of flowers fire the imagination, and thus early subdue it to beauty, to the grace of wisteria's falling curls, or the appeal of a pansy's wise, childlike face; how the open air blows a healthy gust through body and brain and the toil develops muscle. We might also enlarge on the practical knowledge that a garden gives: knowledge of the seasons and of the ways of the weather; of planting-time and of the dew; of the bee's favorites and of the poet's similes; of colors and their grouping. These fruits all come with gardening, but the real need is deeper than them all, deeper indeed than the power of words to say. The experience of a garden is not for the mind alone, nor for the heart alone, nor, of course, merely for the senses. It fills that illative sense of Newman's psychology, it exercises the whole being. Do not deprive a child of his birth-right, the touch of the soil. Let a garden put him in tune with living at the start, then, though the rush of American life keep him at concert pitch all his days, when sorrow or happiness strikes the deep fundamental of his soul, the tone will be in unison with nature, not a rebellious outcry.

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES

A FEW guiding principles will simplify the selection of plants: they should be easy to grow, prolific, and various in kind.

In the spring, for instance, pansy plants in full bloom can be bought for a song, and transplanted. Of course, the flowers must be cut before the roots are buried in damp earth, but new buds will soon open, and the process will absorb the child's interest. From this moment until fall, the garden should have flowers in slow and sometimes overlapping succession. Children love brilliant colors, and nothing short of red will satisfy boys, a sympathetic taste of Mother Nature's evidently, since hot poppies will grow in the shade, geraniums in the sun, and nasturtiums anywhere. Geraniums are most easily cultivated from slips, which take root speedily and reveal a new manner of growth to the young gardener. Phlox is both showy and fragrant, prim zinnias are also colorful, and, blooming into fall, harmonize with the late flowering asters and dahlias that will reanimate the children's industry by their beauty and profusion. A peculiar habit of larkspur will interest them; it trails limply on the ground until the flowers appear, when it suddenly straightens up, quite bold and beautiful.

There is a hardy flower for every month and every place. If the back yard is mostly fence, a child can train up honeysuckle to cover it, and if it is a dump, he can transform it with a scattering of morning-glory seeds. Among the vines, by the way, a new annual, cardinal climber, exquisite in leaf and flame-like flower, is a veritable magic beanstalk, achieving a height of thirty feet in a summer. As a rule, however, familiar homely flowers are best for children, since they have neither the patience nor skill to produce rarities. Sunflowers, though unwieldy, attract birds, and butterflies will hover about an old-time butterfly bush, draping its thin stalks with a fluttering veil.

EVEN VEGETABLES!

IN a vegetable garden, young tomato plants are a good investment, as they wax fat and bear heavily under an August sun, even in moderately fertile soil. The stakes or trellises they require tax the carpentry of a ten-year-old lad, and lesser weights would need a helping hand. Practically all other vegetables, however, (except turnips, and what child would deliberately grow turnips?) depend on rich soil. If that is available, radishes make an ideal crop for youngsters, since they mature in three weeks; and a pumpkin vine rambling along the fence calls up visions of future delights to compensate for the waning garden.

In houses that have no yard give the child a cigar-box filled with sand in which to sow parseley seeds, or a saucer full of pebbles to grow bulbs. Perhaps he will base a narcissus on the colored pebbles that he gathered by a pool's brink. When cultivating bulbs in water and stones this way, it is wise to put them in a dark place for the first three or four days so that the roots may develop strongly before the leaves shoot up in the sunlight.

HIS OWN

A CHILD'S garden should be definitely and inviolably his own. Of course, he needs help, even more than he needs advice, and his interest will intensify in proportion to your notice; but he should, nevertheless, have the responsibility and credit of success. If it is awkward to allot him a certain space, as in a small or carefully planned garden, give him charge of one of your bushes or beds. For it is not the instinct of possession but of protection that awakens interest. Our gardener's flowers are admirable, but only those we tend ourselves are lovable. So each runner of a vine will twine around the heart of the boy or girl who sowed it, and the first fragrance of the lilac-buds will bring deep joy, like peace, to the one that grubbed about the roots. For it is an elemental satisfaction, this joy of gardening, the satisfaction of life responsible to our touch.

A. McCLOSKEY.

NOTE AND COMMENT

Queen Yields Place
to Priest

A BEAUTIFUL incident was recently reported in the press news from Madrid. We found it thus briefly described in the *New York Evening Telegram*:

While Queen Victoria was driving through the city yesterday she met a priest who was going on foot to give the last Sacrament to a dying workingman. When she learned of the mission of the priest, her Majesty alighted and insisted that he use her carriage. The priest agreed, and the Queen followed on foot to the home of the dying man, where she remained during the ceremony.

The story in its simplicity reads like a page from the annals of the days of Faith. All honor to the Queen of Spain. Yet how many will misread this brief dispatch and fail to understand that the deference shown was not for the person of the humble cleric, but for the King of kings whom the silent priest bore worshipfully upon his breast for the last viaticum of laborer or queen alike.

Great Loss for African
Missions

OFFERING his condolence to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost for the great loss recently sustained in the death of Bishop Jalabert of Senegambia and eighteen missionaries who perished with him in the wreck of the *Afrique* whilst on their way to their posts in Dakar, Africa, the editor of the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* says:

Considering the small number of missionaries the premature death of any of them is always to be deplored, but it is felt more keenly at this time when so many missions are in a distressing condition because of lack of workers. Father Douvry, Administrator of the Cameroons mission, who happens to be in Paris and who communicated the sad news to us, wrote: "With great difficulty I had obtained three missionaries for my greatly needy mission and they will never reach their field of labor; they have disappeared in the ocean. It is heartrending, but we must of course accept the decrees of Divine Providence; let the Holy Will of God be done."

We often had occasion to remark during the war that although the number of missionaries had been greatly decreased in many places the number of converts was on the increase despite the insufficient and irregular services of the priests. In fact men are mere instruments in the Hand of God and He may touch hearts and reach souls without their mediation. Let us hope and pray that He may take into account the sacrifices of these nineteen victims and supply through His grace candidates for the work they had started to do for His sake and were unable to accomplish.

Men themselves and Governments have been far more merciful to the missionaries than the ruthless elements. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost alone suffered the loss of over a hundred lives on the battlefields of Europe. This latest affliction, therefore, seen from our natural point of view, is a severe blow, yet Providence can draw its good even out of such apparently irreparable disasters.

Success of the K. C.
Vocational Schools

THE number of ex-service men and women in the Knights of Columbus vocational schools is given as 150,000. Classes are conducted two or three hours each night of the week, excepting Saturdays and a record is kept of the attendance of each student. "Ninety-five per cent of the originally enrolled students go through with their courses and this is true of our sixty schools throughout the entire country," says Supreme Secretary William J. McGinley. "The five per cent that lapse usually do so because, keeping in contact with the K. C. employment bureaus, they obtain good jobs in the trades they have been learning in our

schools." Not only in the regularity of their attendance, but in the respect shown to their instructors and in their orderly deportment these ex-service men are reported to be ideal students. Movies, theaters and pool-rooms have no attractions to withdraw them from their studies and their classes. Here, as in everything undertaken by them, the K. C. have again demonstrated that there is no such word—we shall not say, as "failure", but as "mediocrity" in all their lexicon. Their plans have all been conceived and executed on a magnificent scale.

How Will Women
Vote?

WHILE Socialists have strongly urged the ballot for women, and other political parties have similarly sought to win favor and secure the new voters, it does not follow that women are likely to be influenced by these facts. They are apt, as a body, aside from their supposed leaders, to be but little impressed by such considerations. In Sweden the radical party fought to enforce suffrage for women, and the latter promptly used their ballot to place the more conservative statesmen in power. Alluding to this incident the editor of the *New York Evening Mail* suggested: "Their reasoning perhaps ran parallel with that of Uncle Rastus, to whom a Democratic campaign committee gave two dollars and a Republican committee but one, and who then voted for the Republicans on the ground that they were 'less corrupt' than their opponents." There was no mean degree of political wisdom in this decision prudently arrived at by Uncle Rastus. Women voters have already shown sufficiently that they will not vote "along sex lines," but upon the merit of the issues, as these may appeal to them.

What the Price and Wage
Thermometer Records

DATA recently furnished by the United States Department of Labor show that the average family expenditure for food was just six-tenths of one per cent. less than in January. The latter month marks the highest point reached in prices since 1913. The increase in January, as compared with December had been two and two-tenths per cent. There has on the other hand also been a slight decrease in wages. While out of thirteen industries studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics twelve have shown an increase in the volume of employment, two only record an increase in the amount of money paid to employees. Eleven show a decrease. The increases are 5.9 per cent in iron and steel and 2.2 per cent in silk industries. The largest decreases, ranging from 10.4 to 6.7 per cent, have taken place in cotton manufacturing, cigar manufacturing, and in the boot and shoe industries. The latest report from the New York State Industrial Commission places the weekly earnings of factory workers during February at an average of \$26.47. This is a gain of 113 per cent over the wages earned in 1915. The weekly average was then \$12.41.

Are We Bringing Up a
Race of Infidels?

LITTLE enlightenment has unfortunately been shown by the *Herald and Presbyter*, a Presbyterian organ, in its attitude towards the Catholic Church, but we gladly give it credit for its sincere opposition to the rationalism and materialism of our time. Its editor is not greatly flattered when the *Christian Century* speaks of those who still adhere to the "Evangelical faith" as "the rare and belated remnant of the unaware." This it believes, however, is much nicer than the old equivalents, "hay-seeds" and "back-numbers," formerly used by rationalistic writers. "The fact that so many of the 'assured results' of infidel science have been disproved may account for this use of more courteous phrases." What its editor says of religious education is entirely true:

It is obviously necessary, critically and vitally essential, that the children of the United States be trained up to know the facts and principles and power of the Christian religion. If not it will be only a generation or so until this country ceases to be a Christian country. If a majority of the people have no instruction in, or knowledge of, the Christian religion, then, by a majority it becomes a heathen or irreligious country.

The latest statistics, says the editor of this paper, give the number of pupils in "Sabbath Schools" at about 18,000,000, and he concludes that there must be 27,000,000 children and young people in the United States not enrolled in any Jewish, Catholic or Protestant school that teaches religion even for one paltry hour in the week. A few minutes of Bible reading in the public schools is of course no solution. The Jews could not allow the New Testament to be read, the Protestants would be horrified at the mere mention of the Douay version as a Catholic political campaign, and comments could clearly not be made by the teacher on any passage, while the Socialists, rationalists and materialists would cry "murder" upon the introduction of superstitious literature. There is but one solution that can answer the purpose and save the country, and that is the solution the Catholic Church has found in her Catholic schools.

Shakespeare in Banishment

THAT the American people have been caught up in a wave of "incredible frivolity" threatening dire peril to the welfare and future of our country, was the contention of Mr. James M. Beck, speaking before a large audience of women at Carnegie Hall, New York. The evidence for this, he believed, might sufficiently be found in the character of the plays that are shown at our theaters. The *New York Tribune*, at the time, thus quoted his words on this particular subject:

In the fifty-three theaters of New York only ten plays of any real value are being produced at present. The rest are either frivolous or worse. The dialogue of the modern play shows wit which is an insult to human intelligence, and these frothy, valueless creations attract large numbers nightly, such is the superficiality of the modern day public taste. As the fish that were discovered in the dark recesses of the Mammoth Cave were found to be blind because they had never been privileged to see the light, so with the disappearance of the classic drama from the stage there has followed the disappearance of the actor who could read the lines. I have been informed by those who ought to know that to establish at this time a Shakespeare theater in any of our leading American cities would involve the preliminary necessity of training a school of actors even to read the lines, much more to interpret the rôles.

Berlin, he concluded, had shown a higher regard for Shakespearean and thoughtful plays than New York, or even England. While the Bard of Avon has practically been banished from the professional stage by his own countrymen and those who speak one tongue with him, thirteen different Shakespearean plays were staged in the German capital between 1914 and 1918. Has the best of English culture been translated to Berlin while it remains *verboten* by our modern arbiter of taste, the great public, in England and America?

Jews Seek to Avoid Rush of Bibulous Converts

AT the time the decision of the United States Internal Revenue Collector, James J. Walsh, was made, that "a family of the Jewish faith" may receive fifteen gallons of wine a year for religious ceremonies, without specification of the percentage of alcohol, the *American Israelite* wrote the following warning for prospective converts:

The *Israelite* wishes it distinctly understood that this decision was not procured for conversionist purposes. It fully realizes the temptation that the prospect of obtaining fifteen gallons of wine yearly holds out to lovers of the cup that cheers, who have hitherto been Christians, to become converts to Judaism.

Conversions to last as long as the fifteen gallons and to be renewed on application each year might indeed be plentiful, but would hardly be drawn from the ranks of sincere Christian believers.

Tetzel and Indulgences Once Again

IN a recent issue of the *Bombay Examiner* Father Hull is busily engaged in controversy with a Protestant clergyman, still laboring under the "inexcusable delusion" that indulgences are a "license to sin." Passing on to the "abuses" in the matter of indulgences at the time of the Reformation, Father Hull thus deals with this much-confused subject:

Without going into what would be a very long disquisition in history, we can assure him with certainty that the abuses connected with indulgences just before the Reformation—and some undoubtedly existed—were not nearly so bad as they had been pictured. The accusations against Tetzel in particular have been dealt with by careful historians, and have been mainly accounted for by the sinister attacks of the first reformers, who were quite unscrupulous in their controversial methods, and ready to fake up scandalous stories either freely invented, or at the most based on an unfair twist of some loose rhetorical expressions which over-zealous preachers occasionally made use of. The meaning of indulgences was quite as clear in theology then as it is now. The official program for the preaching of indulgence reflected this theology quite accurately. The faithful were strictly required to make a contrite confession of all their past sins, and obtain valid absolution for them, and thus to be in a state of forgiveness, before the indulgence could be of any value to them. All this is clearly proved from contemporary documents, and may be considered a settled fact in history. If ignorant people, in spite of the prescribed instructions, did draw from indulgences any bad effect, this could only take the form of diminishing in their minds the fear of Purgatory, seeing that its punishments could be avoided by the use of indulgences. It could never take the form of believing that indulgences gave a license to sin—an idea which is altogether foreign to the whole Catholic teaching on the subject.

If diminishing the fear of Purgatory is the only possible harm that even the most ignorant can possibly draw from indulgences, as in fact is the case, then Protestantism has sinned most signally in completely abolishing the fear of Purgatory in whose existence all the ages of Christianity had believed, as the Church believes in it today and Protestants themselves have fast begun to believe anew. The question of alms-giving, perplexingly connected in the Protestant mind with the indulgences granted at the time of the Reformation, is thus luminously explained by the same writer:

Protestants must recognize that alms-giving, not only to the poor but also to pious objects, is a virtuous act pleasing to God. Now the building of St. Peter's was in those days considered to be a very pious act for the glory of religion; and it was for this purpose that the Popes bethought themselves of a universal collection from the Faithful. Knowing that the self-sacrifice and charity and piety of contributing to such a devout work was pleasing to God, and productive of favors and rewards from God, they embodied the idea of spiritual reward in the form of a remission of the purgatorial punishment "to all who having confessed their sins contritely and received absolution followed by Holy Communion," would make a certain contribution.

This remission of purgatorial punishment did not, of course, extend to any punishment that would be due to future sins, as some Protestants still seem to imagine, and least of all was it a "condonation of sin" obtainable by money. Such condonation was obtainable only, then as now, "by confession with contrition and purpose of amendment, followed by absolution from the sins thus confessed and repented of." These are trite facts for Catholics, yet Protestants seem never able to grasp them.

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